Dr Barnardo’s Homes (Dr Barnardo’s/Barnardo’s Scotland): 1930s to 1990s

Report for the Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry

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October 2019
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Overview

The Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry (SCAI) commissioned us to review the records pertaining to Aberlour, Quarrier’s Homes and Barnardo’s in order to assess the extent to which the providers’ records indicate the existence or otherwise of systems or processes for the period c.1930-1990 in respect of: staff recruitment, induction, qualifications and training; discipline and punishment; the handling of complaints; internal and external monitoring; reviews of placements, and after care. Discussion of Barnardo’s services in Scotland concentrates on the period c.1940-1990.

The research for all three providers was carried out in a period of three months between September and December 2018. The limited time and resources available to conduct the research imposed some constraints on the extent and range of the records that could reasonably be consulted. Thus, the research focused overwhelmingly on a sample of records provided to the Inquiry by the providers, supplemented by some additional sources located by the authors elsewhere (records held by the National Records of Scotland and material located in a number of newspapers).

We should note that some records have been destroyed by the providers under the auspices of the Data Protection Act. It is also likely that some records have been lost or destroyed at some time in the past.

This report focuses on the review of documents referring to Barnardo’s. The vast majority were in possession of the Inquiry having been provided by this organisation as a representation of the extant documents that record their activities in Scotland in the above stated period; others have been located by the authors. We are aware that Barnardo’s has an extensive archive of historical records that includes staff files. The time and resource constraints meant that not all records could be reviewed for this study. Where particular records have been brought to our attention by Barnardo’s we have referred to them where appropriate.

Records Consulted

The documents reviewed included:

1. Children’s case files

These comprised sufficient samples across the period under review from 1940s to the 1980s from each Scottish home run by Barnardo’s. The number of files consulted for
each home was not consistent. Files were thorough for the entire period under review.

2. Log books

Log books recording daily activities relating to a few of Barnardo’s homes (c.1958-62 only).

3. Annual reports

These comprised Reports of the Scottish Representative (1948-53); Report of the Executive Officer for Barnardo’s Scotland (1954-63); Annual Reports for the Scottish region for Barnardo’s Scottish operation (1964-1969)

4. Inspection reports

These comprise reports undertaken by officials of the Scottish Office (Scottish Education Department) following official inspections. Surviving reports exist for the 1960s only, though we are aware from other records that inspections took place prior to this decade. These records are held by the National Records of Scotland.

5. Staff records

Some personnel records pertaining to staff employed within Scotland have survived within Barnardo’s archive and we reviewed some of these.

6. Organisational records

These include some extracts from minute books that give details of childcare provision in Scotland; and examples of circulars sent by the General Superintendent’s office in London to regional managers. The latter cover a variety of policy issues relating to staff and children.

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7. Miscellaneous Barnardo’s records

These comprise records relevant to the operation of children’s services run by Barnardo’s in Scotland, including: a visitors’ book, and a staff guide entitled, *The Barnardo Book*.¹

8. Newspapers

We carried out an online search of selected newspapers in order to identify advertisements seeking to recruit new staff, as well as relevant news items and notices pertaining to this organisation’s activities within Scotland. This search was not comprehensive given constraints on time and was restricted to those newspapers digitised and searchable via the online portal *The British Newspaper Archive*.

Access

Our access to Barnardo’s records has been satisfactory. The records supplied to us by the Inquiry have been adequate to answer most questions, though not all types of records cover the full period of Barnardo’s operations. The bulk of the material supplied by the Inquiry focused on the period from the 1940s to the 1970s. Annual Reports only cover the period up to 1968-9. We were not able to consult the full extent of records kept by Barnardo’s or all the material they provided to the Inquiry because of time and resource constraints, though we did examine a significant amount. We did not request further records from the provider. While further records may have been helpful, we consider that the research agenda was broadly met without recourse to such a request, bearing in mind the deadline set for submission of a draft of the report.

It should be noted here that children’s case files are extremely challenging to work with for Barnardo’s on account of the voluminous nature of the majority of them. Most files supplied contained over 100 digitised pages and several case files—particularly those concerning multiple siblings—amount to more than 200 pages (and in one case over 1,000 pages). The majority of files have been kept and digitised in chronological order, but internal divisions within the files into separate sections

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¹ We consulted the second edition of *The Barnardo Book*, published in 1955, as this was the copy initially shared with us by the Inquiry. We later received a copy of the first edition of this book, published in 1944, but were unable to consult it due to time constraints.
means it is impossible to read a child’s journey through care from start to finish on
screen. The confidentiality of the materials meant printing was not advisable.

It is important to emphasise here the constraints and limitations of historical records. Historical records are not finite, but neither are they comprehensive owing to past decisions taken regarding records management (retention, weeding, and storage). The time and resource restraints pertaining to this research meant that we could not consult all records that may exist. Where it was difficult to identify from the records available whether a system or process existed, we endeavoured to find evidence that there was a consistent or generally understood approach to an issue. Where systems were identified we endeavoured to assess whether the records indicate that they were implemented.

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Historical Overview

The history of Dr Barnardo's Homes in Scotland begins with a short-lived 'Ever-Open Door' experiment in Edinburgh. It opened in 1892 as one of a series of short stay hostels for homeless children pioneered by Barnardo's in cities across the UK, and this was the only one opened in Scotland. It did not survive for very long as there was strong local antipathy to the venture. Alongside Christianity, an equal mission of this enterprise was empire (essentially, a platform for emigration); this seems to have incurred the wrath of, among others, William Quarrier. The Scottish press also jumped to Quarrier's aid:

DR BARNARDO is the cuckoo of charity. Not content with the localities he had selected for himself, he roams about the country looking for opportunities of encroaching upon the homes and the work of others who have been in the field before him, and have in many respects a better title to support and sympathy...Mr Quarrier took occasion the other day, at a farewell meeting with the orphan boys from his Destitute Children's Homes who have been drafted off to Canada, to give the intruder from London a plain piece of his mind. Years ago, he said, he had warned Dr Bernardo not to invade the ground in which other men were doing good work; he told him "that he should never overlap fellow-workers, and never make a statement which he was not able to verify in balance-sheets or otherwise." Dr Barnardo appears to have despised both these wise counsels.

Given that other charitable childcare agencies, most notably the Orphan Homes of Scotland, were themselves involved with both saving souls and dispatching them across the Atlantic it is not difficult to see that this whinging cloaked another motive:

...it is important to have the fact established that the branch business lately opened in Edinburgh by Dr Barnardo for the purpose of capturing contributions which ought to go to our own charitable institutions has begun operations by carrying off able-bodied youths,"for the most part over sixteen." Young window-cleaners, militiamen, and the like, are examples of the "destitute" children whom Dr Barnardo professes to have "rescued" from the streets of Edinburgh after help had been asked in vain from various local institutions. The sole ground of justification for the Edinburgh business is that our local institutions have failed in their object, and that it is necessary, therefore, for Dr Barnardo to come and rescue from our streets young people who are "destitute" and in extreme peril and at the very "point of starvation,"...He has had the supreme impudence to put forward this justification in one of his letters...we should like to know the

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2 Editorial comment, The Scotsman, 30 March 1892.
names of the institutions to which they applied, and what steps the Barnardo agency took to verify the statements that they did apply—if such statements were ever made...He vilifies our local institutions. He libels them. And in point of fact he does not find in Edinburgh the destitute children who should be, and are supposed to be, the objects of his charity...These poor wretches at the point of starvation and in utter misery and helplessness were only received by the Barnardo agency on rigid written conditions, signed before witnesses, by which they gave up their personal liberty to Dr Barnardo, agreeing to go to any place and to any occupation that might be selected for them, and, of course, to attend a Protestant place of worship. If it is true that they were in the state of extreme peril described by Dr Barnardo...the man who took advantage of their desperate situation to make them sell themselves into the state of bondage...is a philanthropist with whom Scottish benevolence would rather not compete. 3

Clearly something of the competitive spirit had entered the business of charity and national pride was at stake: after two years Barnardo’s retreated across the border. There was a powerful reason for them to back down in this way. This was that Scotland already raised goodly sums of money for Barnardo’s work. A letter from a Scottish solicitor in 1890 speaks of a legacy of £500 pounds left in the will of one of his clients that was duly paid, but goes on to complain that since this time, his company had been deluged by unsolicited ‘pamphlets and appeals’ from Barnardo’s about which he was very indignant, as he saw charitable giving in Scotland to English-based concerns as a one-way street that ought to be discouraged in the interests of Scottish good causes. 4

While many might have shared this view, there were plenty who did not—Barnardo’s did receive funds raised in Scotland, as well as legacies. Their high profile and the goodwill towards helping disadvantaged children could not put a stop to this, whatever the press might claim. This background is pertinent because although several decades passed before Barnardo’s made another attempt to set up childcare operations in Scotland, these attempts, initially, were met with much the same response.

During World War Two, Barnardo’s evacuated some of their children who were housed in high-risk areas in England to a collection of mansion houses north of the English border—some donated for the purpose by wealthy Scots. By 1943, there

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were at least four of these, and by the end of the war there were nine in different locations across Scotland.\(^5\) Perhaps anticipating that the war would not come to a short conclusion and a demand would exist, in 1943 Barnardo’s decided it would like to open children’s homes in Scotland for Scottish children. Over several weeks that year, an advertisement was placed in the *Scotsman* newspaper seeking a suitable property in or near Edinburgh.\(^6\)

The uproar of complaint commenced again with the Orphan Homes and the Church of Scotland agitating against this. What seems to have triggered this lack of charity was that Barnardo’s also circulated a request ‘to Presbytery clerks in Scotland for permission to appeal to individual congregations of the Church of Scotland’ for financial aid.\(^7\) This time, however, opinion was probably divided. Although members of the public did oppose this move, there was a strong groundswell of opinion that thought there was a need. This can easily be seen in press notices of fundraising done by Scottish members of Barnardo’s ‘Helpers’ League’, local branches of which existed in many parts of Scotland, for example:

**ALYTH COLLECTIONS FOR DR BARNARDO’S HOME.** The collection boxes of the Alyth members of Dr Barnardo’s Helpers’ League were opened at Kinbrae, the residence of Mrs Craig. The members were all entertained to tea. Mrs Grant, the League’s Warden for Scotland, addressed the helpers. It was indicated that last year the collection was £18 1s 0d. This year it was £31 11s 2d.\(^8\)

Despite the many extra demands on charity that wartime produced, Barnardo’s still managed to garner support. The fact that these groups existed encouraged them to keep going with the ambition to grow in Scotland. They also put up a firm defence as this letter from the chair of their executive committee makes clear:

> Sir,—Used as we are to working in the closest co-operation in England with other societies of all classes and denominations, we much regret that Lord Maclay and Dr Kelly [members of Quarrier’s Council] should have thought it necessary to write to the Press on the subject of our opening homes in Scotland. We have kept them informed of all the developments since we were first invited

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5 This number is recorded in NRS ED11/265: *Voluntary Homes: Proposed Voluntary Homes in Scotland under Dr Barnardo’s Organisation*, Home Department minute dated 27 September 1943; the 9 homes included the Boys’ Seafaring Hostel in Glasgow [SGV.001.003.9907-8].

6 See for example, *The Scotsman*, 4 November 1943, p. 6.

7 See for example letter from: William J. Baxter, Convener, Lewis L. L. Cameron, Secretary. The Church of Scotland Committee on Christian Life and Social Work; this was circulated very widely in the national and local presses including, *Demfries and Galloway Standard*, 8 December 1943, p. 4.

8 *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 1 July 1943, p. 4.
to establish homes in Scotland, and we thought they had realised that our decisions were not prompted by any spirit of rivalry. The establishment of temporary war-time homes in Scotland led certain of our friends in Scotland to urge the opening of permanent homes. We receive substantial financial help from subscribers in Scotland, and hitherto have admitted Scottish children to our homes in England. In view of the approaches made to us, we feel that it is incumbent on us to establish homes for Scottish children in Scotland. Certainly the information that has been placed before us by social workers has convinced us that Dr Barnardo's Homes can render useful service to the child life of Scotland. 9

Among the conditions that encouraged Barnardo's to proceed was a high demand during wartime for places for babies and young children—Quarrier's could not meet this demand despite converting more cottages to accommodate babies and toddlers.10

The tide had turned, but even so, Barnardo's work in Scotland might not have survived very long following the end of the war, had not circumstances developed in their favour. Crucially, Barnardo's also obtained the support of government. At a meeting of representatives from Barnardo's and the Scottish Home Department and the Health Department held in Edinburgh on 21 September 1943, the Scottish Office gave the green light to Barnardo's and assured them of assistance to open homes in Scotland.11

This initiative was given further impetus following the publication of the Clyde Report—in which some withering criticisms about large childcare institutions run by Scottish voluntary agencies were made—the door was thus opened wider to

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9 Letter from D. J. MacAndrew, Chairman of Executive Committee, The Scotsman, 24 November 1943, p. 7; the letter from Mclay and Kelly appeared in The Scotsman 20 November 1943.
10 Sometime towards the end of 1941, Barnardo's had been approached by a committee set up by the National Council of Social Service, this committee looked at the interests of the unmarried women with children; the committee were concerned with the shortage of available places for these children and hoped Barnardo's might help, see NRS ED11/265: Voluntary Homes: Proposed Voluntary Homes in Scotland under Dr Barnardo's Organisation, Home Department minute recording interaction between the Council and Barnardo's dated 27 September 1943. [SGV.001.003.9907-9] This interaction is also recorded in Barnardo's records, see minute recording a letter received from Miss Drysdale on behalf of the Committee about unmarried mothers and their children, minute dated 28 May 1941 [BAR.001.001.0342].
11 NRS ED11/265: Note of Meeting in St Andrew's House, Edinburgh, dated 21 September 1943 [SGV.001.003.9957-60].

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providers who could install modern childcare standards in small homes for children.\textsuperscript{12} The Scottish Office was likely not confident that all local authorities would be able to rise to this challenge sufficiently quickly, or indeed at all. Many rural Scottish authorities looked after quite small numbers of children, and for these there was likely to be continued dependence on voluntary provision in cases where residential care was indicated. Moreover, unlike the Orphan Homes and Aberlour in this period, Barnardo’s as an organisation were prepared to oversee boarding-out arrangements as an alternative to residential care. In 1947, they became a registered adoption agency (at least in England and Wales). This was much more in line with contemporary thinking about the best ways of looking after children who were unable to remain with their families.

It was within this context that Barnardo’s began recruiting staff to look after Scottish children in what would become a collection of homes in different parts of the country. Some of the latter had been used as evacuation homes but were opened to Scots-born children when the evacuated youngsters returned south; others were new additions. It is clear from annual reports, however, that there was some to-ing and fro-ing by children back and forth across the border to meet specific needs. At the end of 1946 there were only 33 Scottish-born children in Barnardo’s Homes north of the border. In a state of post-war flux, no figures are given for the total number of children housed in Scotland, but it is almost certain that the Scots were outnumbered by English youngsters.\textsuperscript{13}

Beginning with the purchase of a property in Edinburgh at Blackford Brae, minutes of Barnardo’s committee meetings record progress made in altering this property during 1944 for use as a children’s home.\textsuperscript{14} An office base was also established in Edinburgh.

The first note of recruitment in Scotland that we have recovered is for the Matron of Blackford Brae.\textsuperscript{15} In the immediate post-war period, Barnardo’s was operating several homes in Scotland; as well as the Edinburgh home, others were Balcary Home, near Hawick; Redholm, North Berwick; Cloan House, Auchterarder and Haldane House.

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{BPP, Report of the Committee on Homeless Children (Scotland) 1946} (Clyde Report), Cmd.6911. Hereafter ‘Clyde Report’, pp. 25-6 [SGV.001.008.0165-6].
\textsuperscript{14} Barnardo Records, Minutes of Meetings: minute dated 23 February 1944 [BAR.001.001.0346].
\textsuperscript{15} Barnardo Records, Minutes of Meetings: minute dated 30 August 1944 [BAR.001.001.0347].
near Dunfermline. Both Balcary and Cloan had previously operated as evacuation homes. Comlongon Castle, Castlemilk and Stapleton Tower—all in Dumfriesshire and previously evacuation homes, were still in use, although these are not mentioned in the 1946 annual report. These possibly were taking small numbers of Scottish children where local public assistance authorities requested this, but in the main still housed children from England. It is probable that these were overseen by staff who had moved with the children from England, but we have no firm evidence of this in respect of all homes.

Over time, although staff employed by Barnardo’s often transferred from England to Scotland, this pattern declined, sometimes due to the retirement of long-term employees. For example, in 1965, when the Matron at Balcary home decided to retire, her replacements at this former evacuation centre in which she had been continuously employed during and after the war when it changed to be a children’s home, were to be houseparents recruited ‘preferably from Scotland’. While new recruits were sought, the following arrangement is of note:

Acting [REDACTED]: [REDACTED] formerly [REDACTED] is being trained to act as [REDACTED] is an old girl of the Home, and her husband has an appointment which involves him being away for long periods.

As the above example indicates, Barnardo’s did, on occasion, employ former child residents in roles within the homes.

Barnardo’s were increasingly responsive to changes in social work practice as they affected children and families. Although in the 1960s they still ran mainstream, residential homes for children, they also moved into specialist areas of care. By this point, as well as residential care staff they also employed teaching, medical and

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16 Barnardo Records, Annual Reports: Report for 1946 for the Work in Scotland, dated 18 January 1947, pp. 1-2; in addition to Blackford Brae, these are the specific homes mentioned in the report [BAR.001.002.5470-1].


18 Ibid. [SGV.001.002.9927].


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nursing professionals, and several field social workers who operated from a central office in Edinburgh.

This pattern changed further during the 1970s and Barnardo's entered into different types of services for children and families. Although some residential facilities continued to operate in the 1980s, most of these were aimed at care of children with disabilities, some of which was respite care. Two residential schools for emotionally disturbed children were among the last facilities to close.

Across much of this timeframe, overall management responsibility for the Scottish services lay in London and senior managers as well as medical officers from head office did visit the homes in the Scottish 'region'. In the mid-1960s, Barnardo's operated eleven geographically based divisions across the UK, of which Scotland was the second smallest in terms of the number of facilities in place.\(^{21}\)

Question 1: Staff Recruitment, Qualifications, and In-Service Training Initiatives

**c.1944-1950**

Staff Recruitment

Very helpfully, the general situation with regard to recruitment in this period is recorded in annual reports for Barnardo’s in Scotland. These conclude that the homes run by Barnardo’s in Scotland struggled with recruitment and retention in much the same way as all residential children’s services—voluntary and statutory—did in Scotland at this time. It took time for all of the English born children to be moved—either discharged or returned to facilities in England. Within new facilities, like local authorities, Barnardo’s preferred trained nurses to oversee homes. Advertising was the main means used to recruit staff in Scotland, though other methods, for example, direct approaches to key personnel, were tried.

The advertisement for a Matron at Blackford Brae appeared as follows:

WTD. Matron Superintendent for Reception Centre for girls and boys, Edinburgh. Apply in writing, giving full particulars to the Scottish Representative, Dr Barnardo’s Homes, 5 Alva Street, Edinburgh.22

This advertisement appeared at a time when there was paper rationing and its brevity reflects this. Of note is the fact that the home was planned to be a reception centre. Children might only spend a short time there before being boarded out with guardians or placed in a suitable long stay residential home. This demonstrates some forward thinking by Barnardo’s; certainly, there were no other such facilities in Scotland at this time. Pressure on places and the failure to board out children in sufficient numbers meant that this ambition was, however, largely unfulfilled.

The first annual report for operations in Scotland was issued in January 1947 and this states that 12 school-age children were in residence at Blackford Brae; we do not know if younger children were housed there, but only two had been boarded out from there during the year ending 1946.23 It further remarks that there was a

22 *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 27 April 1944, p. 3.

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shortage of staff in the home, and generally across all homes in Scotland staffing was difficult:

Staff: there have been a great many changes during the year and nearly all the Homes are at present short of at least two staff on the children’s side of the work. The Ministry of Labour, although ready to be helpful, have had no names on their books so that such staff as we have come to us through advertisements...

During the year we have received over 200 applications in answer to advertisements. 142 applicants were interviewed of whom 45 have been engaged. Many of these have only stayed for the probationary month. 24

The report is more candid than is often seen in commentary by other providers on staff difficulties, stating that candidates find the wages too low and the residential factor too restrictive. This really was the nub of the matter; particularly where young women were concerned, board and lodging were no longer enough to compensate for having to live in a place of work—but it is surprising to see it honestly stated. Barnardo’s did try other routes to recruit:

Ministry of Labour Supervisors in several towns, Principals of Domestic Science Colleges, Headmistresses, Service Welfare Officers and groups of service women, have been approached... 25

Barnardo’s stated plainly that post-Clyde Report, they were ‘competing with the Scottish Local Authorities and voluntary organisations in a diminishing market for both foster parents and staff.’ 26 Of note, is that at the end of 1946 Barnardo’s employed a boarding-out officer to promote and oversee this work. 27 We have not recovered an advertisement for this particular post.

By 1947, a home at Winton Drive in Glasgow had been added to Barnardo’s operations. This facility began as a boys’ hostel but was later changed to be a mixed children’s home. 28 Admissions of Scottish children across all the homes in operation had increased from 12 in 1946 to 29. 29
During the remainder of the immediate post-war years, Barnardo’s continued to open new facilities and to recruit staff via advertisements such as:

HOUSE MATRON (resident) Wtd. For girls’ home in North Berwick; interest in youth work and some nursing experience helpful. Apply, giving particulars to Dr Barnardo’s Homes, 5 Alva Street...\(^{30}\)

This advertisement appeared in 1949. The home in North Berwick had opened as a residence for 42 girls in 1944.\(^{31}\) Evidently, some of the girls were older and there is a request for experience in ‘youth work’; there is no specific request for qualifications. The staffing structure of homes depended on their specialism. Homes that had opened before the end of the war (and pre-Clyde report) tended to be sex-segregated; some homes catered for the under-5s. In the latter, staff needed to have a background in care of young children or be probationers who wished to train in this field. Generally, at this time, there was a preference across all homes for single women with nursing qualifications to take charge. Usually there would be a deputy Matron/Superintendent and several assistant Matrons depending on the size of the home.

a. What checks were made before someone was recruited? References required?

We have no specific information about this matter for this timeframe. However, evidence relating to the 1950s, indicates that two references were requested, with one preferably to be from a minister of religion. (see below for information—sub-question (b) 1950-1970)

b. Was there any implicit or explicit set of characteristics organisations sought in a candidate (for example: from a military background, a devoted Christian)?

Candidates had to be in sympathy with the Christian mission of the organisation (see below sub-question (c) 1950-1970 for further details).

c. What were the profiles/backgrounds of applicants?

It is probable that some staff in charge of homes operating in the 1940s began their careers in English facilities run by Barnardo’s. In terms of new homes set up from

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\(^{30}\) *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, 26 November 1949, p. 5.

\(^{31}\) See response document submitted to the SCAI: BAR.001.001.0071.

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1944, recruitment for more junior staff was local, although staff were able to transfer across facilities in the UK.

We have noted that the senior staff member at the Edinburgh home had a nursing background. Experience of youth work (Girl Guides, Scouts, Girls’ Clubs, Christian Youth Fellowships and similar) was an advantage for appointment to positions in homes for older children. Trainee nursery nurses were employed in homes for babies and toddlers. Advertisements for nurses do stress previous experience of caring for ‘healthy children’ as below:

MATRON (resident) for Toddlers’ Home near Dunfermline, Fife; S.C.N. and experience with healthy children essential. Applications with particulars and testimonials to Dr. Barnardo’s Homes, 5 Alva Street, Edinburgh.32

In this, and other examples, the request for experience with healthy children indicates that previous work in children’s homes rather than hospitals is deemed ‘essential’. Moreover, for this senior position, Barnardo’s were seeking a state registered children’s nurse, rather than a nursery nurse—the former qualification had more status.

Advertisements for trainees also appeared in the Scottish press requesting applications from those wishing positions as ‘nursery nurse probationers for a babies’ home near Edinburgh’.33

d. Was there an induction for new staff? If so, what this consisted of? Was it obligatory?

We have no information regarding this for the timeframe. A probationary period was attached to terms and conditions (see question 1, sub-question (a) above).

In one example of staff who transferred from England during the war, a couple spent a short time observing in a boys’ home before taking up post as houseparents. This period of observation was undertaken at their own request, however, and was probably facilitated because Barnardo’s had employed both previously in clerical posts.34 We have no evidence that this was standard practice.

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32 Aberdeen Press and Journal, 11 October 1949, p. 5.
33 See for example, Dundee Courier, 10 September 1949, p. 1.
34 Barnardo Records, application documents for Mr & Mrs Mace – Glasclune [BAR.001.003.9671-2 and 9678].
e. What training, if any, staff were required to attend? (in service, external?)

During this short timeframe Barnardo’s do appear to have encouraged some staff to become involved with training—though much of this may have been informal as aside from training available for nursery nurses, there was little official child care training available in Scotland at this time. Barnardo’s homes for young children engaged trainee nursery nurses who undertook certificated training.

We know that the boarding-out officer employed in 1946 was sent for training in London (there was no training in Scotland at this time) and that the female Superintendent at Balcary (converted from an evacuation home in 1946) and another female senior assistant at Stapleton Tower were sent on a ‘Senior Staff Course’. Barnardo’s also took advantage of training schemes for nursery nurses. At this time, trainees required practical placements throughout their education, which Barnardo’s were able to provide. This common practice in many residential homes, including at Quarrier’s, helped with staff shortages:

Training schemes have now been started in Glasgow, Dundee and recently in Edinburgh. In Edinburgh there is a Scheme of two and a half days’ tuition a week for Probationers attached to the Day Nurseries and a modified Scheme of a day and an evening for those in Residential Homes, which has still to be submitted to the Department of Health. There is no Scheme in Fife into which the probationers at Haldane House can fit and their position will have to be considered in relation to the new Schemes.

As can be seen, trainee nursery nurses could make a significant contribution to the care of young children; Barnardo’s were better placed than many other voluntary providers to take on such trainees, given the proximity of some of their homes that accepted young children to centres where there were technical colleges offering an exam scheme that led to accreditation. These trainees also benefited because their training was aimed at obtaining a recognised qualification rather than simply an in-service training. As we can see, the lack of ability to provide this was still an issue for

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38 Ibid. [BAR.001.002.5477].

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those working in Fife. Young learners here would only receive in-service training, perhaps augmented by occasional lectures.

By mid-1948, training schemes involving Barnardo staff included:

**S.C.U.M.C.** Two candidates for the new Moral Welfare Course have been passed by the Training Committee and will start work in October.

Miss Laid, General Secretary of the Association for Mental Health in Scotland supported by one or two members of the Home Department organised an Experimental Day in Edinburgh to which Superintendents and Deputies of the various Residential Homes, both voluntary and Local Authority in Edinburgh and surrounding districts were invited. In the morning residential Homes and some of their special problems were discussed, and in the afternoon games and indoor amusements for different ages. It was decided that this type of meeting met a real need and unanimously agreed that further meetings should be arranged - the next one to take the form of a practical demonstration.

**Nursery Nurse Training.** On the suggestion of Miss Mathams, President of the Edinburgh Branch of the Nursery School Association, members of this Association and members of the Matrons Association have held some very helpful joint meetings at which groups representing Nursery Nurses and Nursery School Teachers in both Day and Residential Nurseries and Homes have discussed various aspects and problems of the Nursery Nurses Training following short lectures by experts.39

Though these appear informal training events, they were important for this type of work that could be isolating and performed in insular environments, where bad as well as good practice could easily be perpetuated. The opportunity for staff to meet and discuss child care in this way was ‘a real need’.40

f. Were there any incentives/sanctions for attending or not attending training?

We have no information with which to directly address this question. However, it seems reasonable to suppose that employees who wished to progress their career would have taken up such opportunities.

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39 Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Scottish Representative for the first six months of 1948, dated July 1948, p. 4; the moral welfare training was organised by the Scottish Council for the Unmarried Mother so may have been specifically aimed at the welfare needs of older girls [BAR.001.002.5481].

40 Ibid. [BAR.001.002.5481].

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Who provided the training?

Barnardo’s undoubtedly provided their own training schemes for some staff members, for example, the boarding-out officer. Where possible, nursery nurse training was in partnership with technical colleges who provided this vocational education leading to an accredited qualification. There may have been other semi-formal training involving attendance but not the award of any form of accreditation, though as noted, it was probably of value. The fact that some of Barnardo’s homes were in places where there was more accessibility to Scottish cities probably meant that staff had an advantage where training opportunities were concerned.

**c.1950-1970**

Staff Recruitment

By the 1950s some of Barnardo’s older homes, once used during the war years, had closed and there was more of a concentration on homes in the central belt of Scotland. Over the period most homes became mixed-sex children’s homes and as existing Matrons moved on, these were replaced with married couples. From the mid-1950s onwards, some specialist homes were opened, and the staff complement changed to reflect these specialisms.

As the homes run by Barnardo’s in Scotland evolved, the ‘Scottish Representative’ role changed and obtained the title of ‘Regional Executive Officer’. Advertising of posts continued in the press; vacancies were also included in the organisation’s own magazine. Given the closure of some homes, and opening of new facilities, the total number of staff employed by Barnardo’s in this timeframe is unknown. There appears to have been reasonable stability in senior staff posts, but a higher turnover of assistant and trainee staff.

By 1950, Barnardo’s were receiving more applications for places than they could accommodate within their homes; they continued to board out children where possible. A report for the second half of the year describes conditions in seven homes (Balcary, Hawick; Blackford Brae, Edinburgh; Haldane House, Fife; Glasclune, North Berwick; Ravelrig and Tynehelm, both in Midlothian; and Winton Drive in

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41 See for example, Barnardo’s Records: extract from Barnardo’s News, November 1962 [BAR.001.004.0303].

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Glasgow’s West End). The remaining evacuation home in Dumfriesshire—Comlongon Castle—was still open.

In 1950 the newly appointed Scottish representative, Miss M. Garland, reported that:

> There remains an immense opportunity for this work of ours in Scotland. As a newcomer, one has inherited a legacy of goodwill, based on the work of one’s predecessor and her sympathetic approach to the numerous problems of the deprived child.

Among the problems Barnardo’s had were difficulties in finding suitable foster homes and they admitted that this was because they were in competition with local authorities in Scotland. The representative was undaunted, though did point out that as they had only one boarding-out worker who also did other case work, they could not ‘comb wide areas not easily reached or visited’.

Two of the homes in operation accommodated young children and one of these—Ravelrig—had developed to become a training centre for nursery nurses. Given this specialism, as well as problems with boarding out young charges, there were stresses on staff in these homes. Much of the advertising seen in this decade is for nurses or trainee nursery nurses:

> STUDENT NURSERY NURSES wanted for Toddlers’ Home, within easy reach of Edinburgh. Applicants should have completed three years in Secondary School. Apply Dr Barnardo’s...

This advert was for vacancies at Ravelrig in Midlothian. If it did attract suitable applicants, by its nature, this type of employment incurred a high attrition rate as these were mainly young girls who once trained might move on or become married in a period where women often left full-time employment, at least for a time, at this point in their lives.

As we have noted, trainees were harder to accommodate at the toddler home in Fife. Advertisements for this home sought qualified staff:

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42 Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Scottish Representative on the last six months of 1950, dated 12 January 1951, p. 6 [BAR.001.002.5488]. Information on Miss Garland’s background has not been identified.
43 Ibid., p. 5 [BAR.001.002.5487].
STAFF NURSE—N. N. E. B. Certificate or equivalent—required for Nursery Home seven miles from Dunfermline. Residential post. Protestant.—Apply to Dr. Barnardo’s Homes.\(^\text{45}\)

As we can see, this post was residential, and in a remote location: these were both undoubted disincentives in attracting people to work at Haldane House.

Having been in post for several months, Miss Garland’s second report is more detailed on the staffing situation—nearly all Barnardo’s homes had problems with staff. For example, at Haldane House:

...staff difficulties arose, and there were several resignations. Miss Rowe herself has also resigned, following an unfavourable report from Dr. Smith, and is to leave in September.

So far we have not been able to replace her. The house and general situation almost preclude a really satisfactory appointment for what should be a Training Home.

We hope soon to make better arrangements for the Students, even if temporarily - but all such arrangements for Haldane House are apt to prove costly both in time and money, owing to the isolation. For the same reason, the difficulty of staffing this Home other than as a Training Home would be immense.\(^\text{46}\)

Whilst in the city of Edinburgh staffing was also an issue: ‘[t]he usual high standard of care for the children has been retained in spite of numerous staff changes and staff shortages.’\(^\text{47}\) Despite this problem, these homes remained busy and oversubscribed. Increasingly, despite the publicised hostility towards Barnardo’s seen in the mid-1940s, local authorities made use of them. Some children placed from England remained in the early 1950s, for example, in Balcary home.\(^\text{48}\) In successive reports from this period, however, there is evidence that gradually these young people were leaving care.

\(^{45}\) Fifeshire Advertiser 17 April 1954, p. 4.
\(^{46}\) Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Scottish Representative on the first six months of 1951, dated August 1951, p. 3; Dr Smith was a Barnardo’s employee—it is presumed Dr Smith had some form of supervisory role [BAR.001.002.5493].
\(^{47}\) Ibid., p. 2 [BAR.001.002.5492].
By 1953, efforts continued to mix boys and girls in the general children’s homes, but the transition from single-sex accommodation took some time and some of these homes were quite large. For example, at Glasclune:

There is a more settled atmosphere in this Home now, but during the early part of the year frequent staff changes caused difficulty and anxiety. We are gradually increasing the number of boys - but this can only be done as vacancies occur, and nearly always in a family there is a girl as well as a boy seeking admission. At present we have 17 boys and 23 girls in this Home.49

Clearly, large homes such as this needed a staff complement to suit. We have no note of how many staff in total were employed in Scotland, but what is certain is that student labour propped this up. As well as nursery trainees in baby homes, mention is made in several reports of students from Switzerland working at Glasclune Home.50 In 1953, Barnardo’s began accepting students from the residential childcare course at Langside in Glasgow.51

Throughout, general leadership of Scottish homes came from London and the office in Edinburgh was treated very much as a regional outpost, with its executive officer reporting on work to head office. Staffing of Barnardo’s homes reflects this. As senior staff moved on, they were replaced by houseparents appointed from London. A circular issued in 1958 indicates that the London office took charge of advertisements placed seeking senior staff.52 Successive reports on work in Scotland show that there was relative stability among such staff—instability was more confined to assistant and auxiliary staff and reflects the general situation in Scotland where it was difficult to retain childcare workers.

Over time, Barnardo’s added to their portfolio of homes: generally, these catered for children who were more difficult to place. A residential centre for children with physical disabilities was opened at Coltness House near Wishaw in 1954 and a

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49 Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Scottish Representative on the first six months of 1953, no date, p. 2 [BAR.001.002.5515].
50 See for example, Report of the Scottish Representative for the last six months of 1951, dated 04 February 1952, p. 2 [BAR.001.002.5489].
51 Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Scottish Representative on the second six months of 1953, no date, p. 2 [BAR.001.002.5522].
52 Barnardo Records: Letter sent with Circular G.S. 58/84, dated 13 February 1958; this circular gave instructions on staff recruitment policy [BAR.001.004.2277].
residential school for younger ‘maladjusted’ boys at Craigerne in the Scottish Borders in 1956. Both facilities employed teachers as well as care staff.

These initiatives were encouraged by the Scottish Office childcare division. Moreover, despite edicts from London that the Scottish region should ‘at all times…avoid the appearance of working in competition with other agencies devoted to child welfare work’. There was something of the competitive spirit still going on, perhaps aided and abetted by the Scottish Office. In the case of new facilities for ‘maladjusted’ children, correspondence reveals that the childcare division assisted Barnardo’s in finding suitable properties and even steered them in the right direction when Quarrier’s also showed an interest in this type of work. In a letter to Barnardo’s General Superintendent in London the following was stated in May 1955:

Dear Mr. Lucette,

I received a letter from Mr. J. B. Frizell, Director of Education for Edinburgh who is steering the Working Party on Handicapped Children which speaks for itself. It may interest you to know that the Orphan Homes of Scotland at Bridge of Weir are now toying with the idea of trying to help handicapped children who are of the educationally sub-normal type and I have let Mr. Frizell know this.

I do not think that it need necessarily hold you up in starting your small home for the maladjusted emotionally.

Craigerne School for maladjusted boys opened the following year. There appear to have been some initial difficulties with this initiative. We have few details, and the annual report for 1957 is reticent on the subject, but the school did not get off to a good start: ‘[the] accompanying difficulties of this Home are too well known to need further comment. We look forward to a fresh beginning under Mr. and Mrs. Nicholson and hope there will be better news to report next time.’

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53 Barnardo Records: extracts from minutes relating to reports submitted by the Scottish representative, no date, para. 16 [BAR.001.001.0355].
54 NRS ED28/155: Voluntary Homes: Dr Barnardo’s Home for Maladjusted Children, Craigerne Peebles; this letter addressed to Lucette is dated 12 May 1955, it is unsigned but likely was written by Hewitson Brown—other correspondence in the file reveals arrangements for them to meet that year [SGV.001.002.9853].
55 Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Executive Officer for Scotland on the first six months of 1957, p. 3 [BAR.001.002.5582].
Then in 1966, a specialist unit for children with diabetes was opened in the grounds of Ravelrig House—this was called ‘Cruachan’. There is evidence that in existing homes there was also a gradual shift towards providing services to children deemed ‘difficult’. This was noted at Blackford Brae in 1961:

This Home sometimes appears to have more difficulties than others – largely because it is centred in Edinburgh, where, because of the special schooling facilities, many of the most difficult children are admitted. This usually means the close proximity of difficult parents also! However, the Superintendents cope with unfailing courage and patience in any difficulty and never grumble.56

This type of client base in Barnardo’s homes reflects increasing use made of them by local authorities, although around half of all enquiries for places continued to come from a variety of other sources.57 In this respect, it is clear that Barnardo’s worked hard to spread news of their services: a ‘public relations officer’ gave talks indicating that Barnardo’s was a ‘British’ organisation that had homes across the UK.58 The Scottish representative, had, by this point, obtained the title of Chief Executive for Scotland, and reports to London were now made annually rather than twice a year. Miss Garland was clearly viewed as a safe pair of hands. The instructions on staff recruitment for example, sent out in 1958, forbade the recruitment of male members of staff—this was to be done from London so that ‘routine enquiries’ might be made.59 However, in 1964 an advertisement was placed for a housefather at Coltness with applications to be submitted to Edinburgh.60 We have no evidence that similar enquiries were made in Scotland at this point (routine police checks were not implemented until later in the 1960s).

57 Ibid., reports list the local authorities making use of Barnardo’s and the numbers of children they sent; the report made in 1961 shows a wide variety of authorities in the central belt sent children to Barnardo’s homes but of note is that Aberdeen sent 25 children—this possibly reflects the decision to run down Aberlour Orphanage and/or reluctance of local authorities to use such facilities [BAR.001.002.5600-02].
58 ‘Dr Barnardo’s is “British”, Aberdeen Evening Express, 12 April 1960, p. 5; in this it is reported that Mr T. W. Hayron had given a talk to Aberdeen Rotarians.
59 Barnardo Records: Letter to Superintendents from the General Superintendent dated 13 February 1958; this states the following: ‘Remember that all recruitment of male staff is done from Stepney except for gardeners and handymen. I remind you that even with gardeners and handymen certain routine enquiries are made regarding which you should consult the Staff Department.’ [BAR.001.004.2277].
We have recovered few examples of Barnardo’s staff advertisements for the late 1960s overall. It is likely that Barnardo’s managed to fill some staff shortages with learners on practical placements (see sub-question (h) below). Those adverts recovered are concentrated more upon assistant housemothers or on nursing/nursery staff. In these, Barnardo’s had moved with the times unlike other voluntary providers. For example, an advertisement for a ‘Training Sister’ at the Ravelrig home who would also act as deputy to the couple in charge, allowed for a married applicant (with the husband to follow own occupation) and provided accommodation, or applicants could be non-resident if they preferred. These more flexible policies possibly helped with recruitment and retention.

Towards the end of the 1960s, there had been growth; the annual report for 1967 states that at ‘31st March, 1967, there were 289 children either in care, or being helped on behalf of the organisation’. Of this number, 146 were resident in children’s homes and 63 in the specialist schools. The remainder were either boarded out or in receipt of some form of continuing or after care.

The evidence reviewed indicates that staff were often moved around different facilities. The couple newly placed in charge of this Edinburgh home had been employed elsewhere by Barnardo’s in both Scotland and England. Although they were clearly experienced, there is no mention of the ‘father’ having specific childcare qualifications (his wife was a trained nurse) and assistant staff had neither qualifications nor experience. The report states that after a couple of years these assistant housemothers might be seconded to attend the residential childcare course at Langside in Glasgow. Barnardo’s practice, it seems, was to employ young, unqualified staff in the hope that they would show promise, at which point they would become eligible to apply for training. Wider experience could also be had by moving around homes, including homes in England as the houseparents at Blackford Brae had done.

62 Barnardo Records, Annual Reports: Annual Report for the Scottish Region - 1.4.66. to 31.3.67, p. 3 [BAR.001.002.5635].
63 Ibid., p. 3 [BAR.001.002.5635].
64 NRS ED11/664/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Blackford Brae; Inspection Report dated 10 April 1967 [SGV.001.002.9881-6]. See also Appendix A of report for list of children resident and details of the source of their referrals [SGV.001.002.9877].

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Other homes, such as Tyneholm, had houseparents in charge in 1965 who had gained significant experience (at Quarrier’s Homes) and had been in post with Barnardo’s for 10 years, but were not qualified. When the couple retired in 1968, their deputies who had been in post for eight years replaced them. Barnardo’s had seconded the husband of this couple for training at Langside College. Evidently staff who stayed for any length of time were encouraged to take up this option and recruitment for senior posts may have been weighted towards internal candidates.

Interchanges between staff of different homes was definitely encouraged and it is inferred that this reduced the need to recruit externally. In 1967 it was reported that:

Our monthly staff meetings of all Superintendents and all Field Work staff are now well established. These meetings are opportunities for discussion on pertinent topics - for instance, one was a Day Conference on "Christian Training in Barnardo's". Some meetings are used to discuss methods of working, particular problems in residential child care, or what staff would like to see developing, i.e. matters of policy. So successful have these meetings been, that Deputies and Senior Staff have asked for the same type of meetings on a regular basis. Almost more important than the actual discussions are the opportunities these meetings provide for staff to come together, and get to know one another better. As a result, I am confident that we are feeling more of a team, and I hope working more as a team in the interests of better child care.

As a direct result of this improved communication between staff in different Homes, many more inter-home visits and activities, such as sports fixtures, are now arranged. One Housefather from Craigerne is planning to take two or three boys from two or three different Homes together on Youth Hostelling weekends. Some of our Homes are now working an exchange system of staff, when staff go for periods of approximately one month to another Home to see other methods of working. This is resulting in a stimulating exchange of ideas, at the same time widening staff's experience in readiness for basic training, or further training.

I am glad to say that we have a steady flow of staff applying for training... Our two Special Schools, and six out of our other eight establishments, are used by the Scottish Residential Child Care Courses for student placements. Some of

65 NRS ED11/715/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Tyneholm House Pencaitland, Inspection Report dated 27 May 1965 [SGV.001.002.9908-10].
66 Ibid., Inspection Report dated 26 June 1968 [SGV.001.002.9915-9].
these students are good for staff recruitment, which is consequently less of a problem than it was a few years ago...67

a. What checks were made before someone was recruited? References required?

Surviving documents for staff employed by Barnardo’s indicates that two references were required in the early years of their operation in Scotland. However, these could be personal references rather than workplace-related, with preference given that one of these should be from a minister of religion.68

During the mid-1950s, this prerequisite changed, stated as follows on an application proforma:

Give names and addresses of three persons (not relations) who may be referred to, stating how long each has known you and please say if we may refer to them at once. Will you include your clergyman or minister and your last or present employer.69

b. Was there any implicit or explicit set of characteristics organisations sought in a candidate (for example: from a military background, a devoted Christian)?

As we can see in the advertisement for a staff nurse in Fife (see sub-question (a)) protestant candidates were sought. Though by no means all advertisements specify religion, it is highly likely that Barnardo’s employees had to demonstrate a Christian commitment and surviving applications forms from this period do ask for details of religious affiliation.

By the late 1960s almost all children placed in Barnardo’s homes and schools, came via local authorities and there was more flexibility shown in the matter of religious diversity of staff and children. Yet a commitment to the Christian faith continued, in some shape or form. An inspection report for Blackford Brae produced in 1967 reveals that the newly appointed housefather was a former candidate for the Methodist ministry; the report states the following on the religious culture of the home:


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...By tradition Dr. Barnardo's is a Protestant organisation but in specialist Homes like Blackford Brae there is now provision for taking Roman Catholic children in need of specialised care which is not available within their own Churches child care provisions.

...There are no Roman Catholic children at present in Blackford Brae but Mr. Currie [Superintendent housefather] has no objection to their coming. The only stipulation the Dr. Barnardo organisation makes is that all children in the Home would be expected to take part in the religious observances within the Home in that they too would say Grace and evening prayers.

In the past children from Blackford Brae attended the Grange Church. This Church Mr. Currie feels is not suitable for children who are disturbed and in care. The Children now attend the Central Methodist Church at Tollcross which is Mr. Currie’s own church and where the children attend Sunday School and are involved in the activities of organisations like the Boy Scouts, the Guides and the Brownies. Attendance at these organisations is entirely voluntary and should any child wish to attend another Church he or she would be encouraged to retain his attendance there.\(^\text{70}\)

c. What were the profiles/backgrounds of applicants?

By the end of 1952 some changes in the profile of staff are evident. Several homes now had married couples as houseparents in charge as opposed to female Matrons, including Glasclune, Tyneholm and Winton Drive.\(^\text{71}\) Some of these staff members transferred from England.\(^\text{72}\) However, by the late 1950s, couples were recruited more locally.\(^\text{73}\) Surviving staff records show previous experience of child care in such candidates.

d. Was there an induction for new staff? If so, what this consisted of? Was it obligatory?

We have no information about formal induction in this timeframe. There was a six-month probationary period.

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\(^\text{70}\) NRS ED11/664/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Blackford Brae, Inspection Report for Blackford Brae dated 10 April 1967 [SGV.001.002.9883-4].

\(^\text{71}\) Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Scottish Representative on the second six months of 1952, dated 31 December 1952 [BAR.001.002.5504-5].

\(^\text{72}\) See Barnardo Records: Staff File re Mr & Mrs Smoothy who worked at Tyneholm [BAR.001.004.0304-38].

\(^\text{73}\) See Barnardo Records: Applications for Mr and Mrs Kelly who had previously worked for the Orphan Homes of Scotland [BAR.001.003.9657-60].
e. What training, if any, staff were required to attend? (in service, external?)

There is evidence that despite staffing difficulties, Barnardo’s supported further training for staff. For example:

In October Miss O’ Brien, Superintendent [at Balcary], attended the short Refresher Course at Dundee, organised by the Scottish Home Department for senior Staff, and greatly enjoyed it. We had been especially asked to send representatives. 74

Mr Horn, a houseparent at Glasclune in North Berwick also attended this course. 75

f. Were there any incentives/sanctions for attending or not attending training?

We have no information in respect of this, although increasingly, during the 1960s, further promotion may have been dependent on this. Barnardo’s did appear to appreciate the need for better trained staff; the 2nd edition of the Barnardo Book, published in 1955 states: ‘[t]he Council recognizes the service of trained workers and the importance of facilitating the attendance at Training Courses of their staff’. 76

Annual reports for Scotland for the 1960s also underline a continuing commitment to training and to staff interaction with professional associations. In the report for 1965-66 it is commented by the Chief Executive Officer for the Scottish region that:

We are able to have staff meetings for all Superintendents and field staff. Some Welfare Officers are attached to particular homes, to ensure a continuity of relationships.

Some of the residential Child Care staff are active members of R.C.C.A. [Residential Child Carers’ Association], and some of the Association for the Workers with Maladjusted Children. One Welfare Officer is a member of the Executive Council of the Scottish Branch of A.C.C.O. [Association of Child Care Officers].

I appreciate my membership of the Scottish Advisory Council on Child Care, in which capacity I am now a member of the Interviewing Panel for the Scottish

75 Ibid., p. 3 [BAR.001.002.5504].
76 Barnardo Records: The Barnardo Book (St Albans, 1955), p. 78 [BAR.001.004.1062].

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Education Department Training in Residential Child Care. Our two schools, and two of our Homes provide practical work placements for these students.

Staff Training

Three members of staff have been accepted for 1966/67 Training in Residential Child Care. I plan to apply for their secondment on full salary. Meantime the Scottish Education Department will meet the full salary cost of replacement staff.

We are most grateful to Miss Lade who has made it possible for at least 8 staff, Superintendents, Deputies and 2 juniors, to join with staff from other Regions in Refresher Courses.

Twelve other members of staff have taken part in residential refresher courses organised by the Scottish Education Department, sometimes geared to Superintendents taking students, sometimes to staff dealing with adolescents, and sometimes to new entrants.

S.E.D. [Scottish Education Department] make no charge to Voluntary Organisations, either for residence or tuition, on these courses.

I have taken part as a tutor on one course for field workers.

I appreciate very much the co-operation of Superintendents in arranging for their staff to take training, which is a comparatively new idea for some of them.77

g. Who provided the training?

Training was obtained by various routes available in Scotland, and some staff also travelled to England to undertake training. As we have noted in sub-question (e), some more senior staff took advantage of Scottish Home Department-sponsored ‘refresher courses’. These were designed for experienced and/or qualified staff and a certificate of attendance would have been awarded. For example, in 1958, the following staff are detailed as having attended such training:

We were glad to take advantage of the Home Department’s Refresher Course for Senior Staff held in Dundee…and no fewer than six of our Senior Staff attended. These included our Superintendents from Haldane House, and also from Blackford Brae, and our Housefather from Tyneholm, and Miss Allen from

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Balcary. The course dealt chiefly with the problems of older children and
covered a very wide field. It was immensely appreciated by everyone.

An extra-mural University Course was also arranged in the Autumn and New
Year, dealing chiefly with the maladjusted child. Several of our Staff attended
this Course also (one afternoon a week) and benefited greatly from it. 78

There is evidence that by the late 1950s, in-service training was delivered via
'lectures' given in the workplace by invited speakers. 79 At Craigerne School the
following was also reported:

We have endeavoured to guard against too much isolation in this work, so far as
we are able — and, together with others who are interested, a Scottish Section
has been formed of the Association of Workers with Maladjusted Children.
Quarterly lectures and lunch meetings are being arranged, for general
discussion of the problems involved and a pooling of experience. 80

Junior staff at Coltness House sometimes left employment after a time to undertake
full-time training via recognised routes:

It has become the recognised practice for junior staff at this Home to apply for
their Sick Children’s or General Training after a certain time. To avoid too much
wastage it may be advisable to plan a recognised “Pre-Nursing” Course in the
not very distant future. This matter is under consideration. 81

By the late 1960s, and following the publication of the White Paper, Social Work and
the Community, it was recognised that more trained staff and more training options
might be necessary for staff caring for children who required residential care, given
that the emphasis was to be on family preservation and enabling children to remain
with their kin. Meantime, Barnardo’s homes in Scotland were being used for trainee
placements by recognised courses. It is evident that Barnardo’s staff could also apply
to be seconded full time for training. In 1967, the Scottish annual report commented:

We have very close links with Training Courses. Staff are most appreciative of
the scheme by which they have been seconded on full salary to the Residential

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78 Barnardo Record, Annual Reports: Report of the Executive Officer for Scotland, dated 11 March
1959, p. 5 [BAR.001.002.5590].
79 See for example, Report of the Executive Officer for Scotland, 1958, re Coltness House
[BAR.001.002.5587].
80 Ibid., re Craigerne School [BAR.001.002.5588].
[BAR.001.002.5604].

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Child Care Course. We have four, and perhaps five, of the members of the 1966/67 Course returning to Barnardo’s service. We take many students from these courses, a number of whom have returned to us when qualified. A number of Superintendents, and other staff, have been on short courses organised by the Scottish Education Department.

On the field work side, we take students from the Probation Training Course, the Applied Social Studies Course, and a Teachers’ Training College. We feel the need for an Advanced Course in Residential Child Care for staff dealing with emotionally disturbed children, but meantime we are exploring the possibility of an exchange system of staff for short periods of observation and experience, say between our school or home for disturbed children and a psychiatric Unit to which some of our children are sometimes transferred. This is still only at the stage of investigation. 82

In such ways, although Barnardo’s sometimes struggled to maintain full staffing in all homes, there was a circular quality in place whereby in homes such as Craigerne:

...we have had a chronic shortage of residential child care workers. However, it would seem that this is now being overcome by the “return” of the student population after qualification. Consequently we have a “young” staff there, who appear better able to withstand the rigours of the job, though sometimes lack the capacity to provide adequate “mothering” experiences for these children. 83

The nursery training school also continued to educate National Nursery Examination Board (NNEB) students who also attended nearby Dean College; it may be assumed that the same pattern sometimes existed there—permanent staff members were recruited from among newly qualified former students.

Barnardo’s also operated their own training schemes in England and staff from these may have been placed for practical training in Scottish homes as in the following example at Tyneholm:

There is a coloured (lightly) girl Miss Mackay (twenty-three) from Sierra Leone as House Mother. She came to Britain some five years ago, trained as a children’s nurse in Southampton and is completing the two years Dr. Barnardo’s course at

83 Ibid., Part III, p. 5 [BAR.001.002.5637].
Tyneholm this July. She has asked to stay and will do so. Mr. Nesbitt [housefather in charge of home] speaks highly of her abilities.⁸⁴

At headquarters in Edinburgh there was also some diversification among field staff in order to assist those working in the homes and children who had difficulties. In 1967 a psychiatric social worker was employed who also took the title of Deputy Regional Manager.⁸⁵

**c.1970-1990**

Staff Recruitment

In this timeframe Barnardo's increasingly rationalised services to fall within niche areas of child care aimed at looking after children and young people with disabilities or behavioural problems and this widened the types of staff recruited. More stress was placed on obtaining trained staff for senior roles. In respect of more junior posts, staff were employed who showed willingness to undergo training. There does seem to have been a preference for internal promotion where senior posts are concerned.

As we have noted elsewhere, where houseparents were concerned it seems likely that Barnardo’s preferred to promote known quantities from existing staff; only advertising for more specialist, professional roles, and this pattern continued, though staff were now recruited from within Scotland. For example, at Balcary which opened in 1944, the longstanding Matron who was in charge until 1965 was replaced by qualified houseparents who had previously worked for Barnardo’s in Scotland.⁸⁶

Very few advertisements have been recovered for more senior posts. It is likely that Barnardo’s used professional publications to advertise for trained and/or professionally qualified staff; and advertised vacancies for houseparents in their in-house publications. There is evidence from staff records that applications made to Barnardo’s in England might be referred to Scotland if a suitable vacancy existed.

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⁸⁴ NRS ED11/715/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors' Reports: Dr Barnardo's Tyneholm House Pencaitland, Inspection Report dated 26 June 1968 [SGV.001.002.9915-9].
⁸⁵ Barnardo Records, Annual Reports: Annual Report for the Scottish Region - 1.4.66. to 31.3.67, Part III, p. 5 [BAR.001.002.5637].
⁸⁶ NRS ED11/716/1: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors' Reports: Dr Barnardo's Balcaiy, Hawick, SED inspectorate minute dated 26 December 1965 [SGV.001.002.9927]; Barnardo Record: staff record for Mr and Mrs Barron [BAR.001.004.0784-0805].

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there. In 1978, a young man applied for a houseparent post in the ‘Tyne/Tees Division’ but was employed at Glasclune home in North Berwick.87

Of advertisements placed in the Scottish press, the following is an example:

**DR. BARNARDO’S**

Cruachan, Balerno, Midlothian

**HOUSEPARENT (Male or Female)**

Required, residential, to act as deputy in the absence of the sister in charge at this small home for 11 children (some diabetic, some asthmatic with special caring needs.)

Residential child care certificate or similar qualification essential. Salary within the range plus free emoluments valued at £219 per annum

Further inquiries to and application forms from Divisional Children’s Officer (Scotland) Dr Barnardo’s...88

The small size of the facility is notable, but so too is the fact that this position was residential, though child care rather than nursing qualifications were emphasised. Evidently too, the ban by the Scottish headquarters on men being employed had been lifted.

By the start of this timeframe, some facilities had closed, such as the children’s home in Fife, and others had been changed (notably, Ravelrig had closed as a training centre). A new home—the Tower—had opened in Edinburgh to cater for disturbed children. This home was smaller than most of the previous facilities run by Barnardo’s in Scotland with only 14 beds.89 Homes such as Blackford Brae also cut their numbers in order to cater for children with special emotional and behavioural needs. However, modern practice in such residences was for a higher staff/child ratio so there may not have been an accompanying reduction in the overall staff complement.

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87 Barnardo Records: application made by Leslie Rayner [BAR.001.004.0925-6 and 0934].
89 See NRS ED11/715/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Tyneholm House Pencaitland, summary of Barnardo’s homes prepared by Barbara C. Reed (likely an advisor for the Scottish Office Central Advisory Service), no date c. late 1960s [SGV.001.002.9905].
As well as having seven children's homes, Barnardo's also ran three residential schools as follows:

- Coltness House School, Wishaw. Boarding School with some day places, for 45 physically handicapped children.
- Thorntoun School, Kilmarnock. Boarding School for 46 maladjusted Senior boys and girls.\(^{90}\)

In 1969, the executive officer in Scotland predicted staff needs for the 1970s in the light of greater emphasis being placed on children remaining with their families and the evolving role of voluntary organisations as providers of non-standard residential care for children:

I would hazard a guess that we will have to face fairly regular turn-overs of staff and children. It is likely, in Scotland anyway, that the proportion of long-term children in care may decrease. Fewer children, it is hoped, will be in care from Nursery to school leaving age, though sometimes three or four years can be the minimum length of time needed to help an emotionally deprived and disturbed child and his family. In the turn-over of staff, it is perhaps more likely that Superintendents will stay for longer periods. They collect a team of staff round them, who share their ideas and ideals, and use these in the service of the children for say two years. If this is a truly dynamic situation, their ideas and methods will be constantly changing. By this time, some of the junior staff may wish to apply for training, and the senior ones for further training. One or two leave - there is a general exodus - one or two return from training, and the Superintendents start to build up another team, different perhaps from their previous one, geared to cope with changed working conditions, and different needs presented by the children.

For their own balance, and that of their family's [sic], Superintendents might prefer to live outside the Home, in a house in the grounds. This has the advantage of providing perhaps valuable experience for Deputies, or other Senior Staff.

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\(^{90}\) Ibid. [SGV.001.002.9906].

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This process is not as ongoing and easy as it sounds. For some Homes, we find it difficult to get the right staff, but, for some of the more challenging situations, young staff of good integrity are coming forward.\(^{91}\)

This was perhaps an optimistic assessment and based on the view that most of the existing services would continue. The executive officer also implied in this report that the days where children cared for in homes frequently 'were helped to find work in similar homes, where they continued to "use the back stairs"' were at an end.\(^{92}\)

a. What checks were made before someone was recruited? References required?

An example of a staff record from the late 1970s shows that two references were required: in this case, the current employer offered one and the other was a personal reference from a minister of religion. In addition, information was sought from the Department of Health and Social security as to whether there was 'any objection to him/her being employed'. The response to this was contained in a rubber-stamped comment stating, 'no observation'.\(^{93}\)

By the mid-1980s, surviving records suggest that for a senior post, three references were submitted. In the example consulted these were all workplace-related, including the most recent employer. Further information was still being requested from the Department of Health and Social Security.\(^{94}\)

b. Was there any implicit or explicit set of characteristics organisations sought in a candidate (for example: from a military background, a devoted Christian)?

The Christian foundations of Barnardo's work was still relevant in the 1970s. In one letter offering a senior post the following remark is included:

> The Council of Dr Barnardo's wish every member of our staff to realise that the foundation of the homes is our Christian faith and the spiritual side of the work must be given the foremost place. A leaflet on the beginnings and guiding principles of Dr Barnardo's is attached.\(^{95}\)

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\(^{91}\) Barnardo Records, Annual Reports: Annual Report for the Scottish Region - 1.4.68. to 31.3.69, Part I, p. 2 [BAR.001.002.5648].

\(^{92}\) Ibid., p. 1 [BAR.001.002.5647].

\(^{93}\) Barnardo Records: application made by Leslie Rayner [BAR.001.004.0930].

\(^{94}\) Barnardo Records: application made by James Glynn (Autumn 1985) [BAR.001.004.0941-4].

\(^{95}\) Barnardo Records: application made by Eric Beatty for the post of Scottish Divisional Children’s Officer, August 1973 [BAR.001.004.0921-2].
By the 1980s, more emphasis seems to have been placed on qualifications and experience. In surviving records from this time, the religious life of the applicants is not dwelled upon. A surviving job description for a project leader makes no mention of religion or matters of faith.96

c. What were the profiles/backgrounds of applicants?

During the 1970s, more emphasis was placed on qualifications—certainly for senior staff. In respect of assistant staff in homes during the 1970s, commitment to working with children appears to have been sufficient in lieu of qualifications.97 For the 1980s, the small amount of staff records reviewed only encompass senior roles; in these examples, staff were well educated, had relevant qualifications and several years’ experience within the childcare system.

We have access to only a few staff records for this period. It is impossible to generalise from this evidence. The types of services provided by Barnardo’s in Scotland were specialised, so it is likely that staff, at the very least, were required to have some form of experience. These facilities still employed auxiliary domestic staff, but we have no examples to draw upon to investigate what qualities were demanded for these roles, or if any background checks were made.

d. Was there an induction for new staff? If so, what this consisted of? Was it obligatory?

Reviewed records indicate that a six-month probationary period was standard for childcare posts. By the 1980s, staff appraisal had been introduced; however, we cannot know from the reviewed records how regularly or rigorously this was implemented.98 We have no information about any type of formal induction.

e. What training, if any, staff were required to attend? (in service, external?)

We have no information that training was a requirement per se, however, the staff records reviewed indicate that on-going training was available, and staff were encouraged to undertake this. Unqualified staff who wished to remain in this field or make progress with their career were encouraged to take up training opportunities.

96 Barnardo Records: James Glynn file [BAR.001.004.0952-3].
97 See for example Barnardo Records: Leslie Rayner file [BAR.001.004.0931-3].
98 See for example Barnardo Records: James Glynn file [BAR.001.004.0965-9].

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f. Were there any incentives/sanctions for attending or not attending training?

It was a condition of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 that staff within local authority social work departments would have access to appropriate training. Following this legislation, facilities in the voluntary sector which were registered by local authorities and which accepted children placed by them were encouraged to employ suitably trained staff and provide opportunities for further appropriate training and professional development. However, the implementation of this was uneven and there was no formal compunction for voluntary organisations to comply, since they organised their own recruitment. We have no information about this factor as it affected Barnardo's, though many of the services they provided in this timeframe necessitated qualified staff, for example, teachers within residential schools.

g. Who provided the training?

The types of training available to staff was dependent on their role. This might be aimed at obtaining formal qualifications in residential child care or programmes of appropriate in-service training for staff. We have no information about the nature of these, but a report issued in 1969 indicates that in-service training was organised from the Scottish headquarters by a member of staff who had designated responsibility for this.99 It is presumed that this pattern continued. For example, minutes of management meetings held in 1975 indicate that there was discussion of such events as study days, conferences and attendance at summer schools for small numbers of staff.100

99 See Barnardo Records, Annual Reports: Annual Report for the Scottish Region - 1.4.68. to 31.3.69, Part III, p. 8 [BAR.001.002.5654].
100 See for example, Minutes of Management Group Meetings held 17 January 1975 [BAR.001.004.1915], 9 May 1975 [BAR.001.004.1920] and 20 June 1975 [BAR.001.004.1922].
Question 2: Discipline and Punishment

**c.1944-1950**

**Guidance**

In Scotland there were no specific national guidelines issued regarding the administration of discipline within mainstream children's homes. In the voluntary sector, within individual organisations such as Quarrier’s Homes and Aberlour Orphanage, guidelines were issued in this period. Sometimes these were influenced by statutory regulations introduced in the 1930s that applied to the likes of Remand Homes and Approved Schools, though they were amended according to the philosophy in place within each institutional setting. The situation in Barnardo’s Scottish services was different in that the administration of these facilities was centrally controlled from outside of Scotland. The inauguration of homes (aside from those designated evacuation centres) in Scotland in 1944, coincided with the introduction of a practice manual by Barnardo’s—*The Bamardo Book*. This provided detailed guidance and rules for the running of all Barnardo’s homes in the UK.  

Boarding out regulations issued in Scotland in 1947 applied to children placed by local authorities in voluntary homes. As we have seen, Scottish local authorities did make increasing use of Barnardo-run homes, but it was not until the 1960s that the numbers of such placements exceeded those made by other voluntary sector organisations or private individuals. Nonetheless, even before this, Barnardo’s must certainly have been aware of the regulations, particularly as they, too, boarded out children. Within the 1947 regulations the use of ‘indiscriminate or harsh punishment’ was forbidden. This accorded with the general philosophy maintained by Barnardo’s (outlined in the second edition of the *Book* published in 1955), although corporal punishment was permitted within certain boundaries.

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101 *The Bamardo Book* (1955), pp. 61-2. [BAR.001.004.1045-6] A copy of the first edition of this book, published in 1944 was provided to the Inquiry by Barnardo’s from within their archive but the researchers were unable to consult this ahead of preparing this report.

102 *The Children (Boarding-out, etc.) (Scotland) Rules and Regulations*, (H.M.S.O., 1947), p. 7 [LEG.001.001.0132].

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The tradition for administration of corporal punishment in Scotland was somewhat different from that which applied in England and Wales. In Scotland, the leather strap was preferred, and this was certainly the means used in both Quarrier's Homes and Aberlour Orphanage, whereas the cane was used in other parts of the UK and the use of a cane is mentioned in the second edition (1955) of the *Barnardo Book*. Based on the records reviewed we do not know if, or how, sanctioned corporal punishment was administered in Barnardo's Scottish establishments during this period.

**Recording of Discipline and Punishment Regimes**

The 1947 boarding-out regulations stipulated that 'any persistent misconduct' had to be notified to the sending authority. We do not know how this requirement was interpreted by Barnardo's. It may be assumed that any discipline problems were reported to staff at the regional headquarters. Within this timeframe, the method used for recording disciplinary issues and any punishment given is unknown.

As the majority of the children cared for by Barnardo's up to 1950 were not placed by Scottish authorities (for example, the children were transferred from England), the major influence on any disciplinary measures taken and the means of recording these, was likely Barnardo's own set of guidelines.

**c.1950-1970**

**Guidance**

Within these decades, guidance was issued at institutional level by Barnardo's, and at national level through statutory regulations for England and Wales (1951) and later regulations issued for children's homes in Scotland (1959). In 1951, regulations for the administration of children's homes, which included guidance and rules on discipline, were issued by the Home Office to cover children's homes in England and Wales. As a childcare organisation, Barnardo's sent out a circular to its staff that provided guidance on aspects of these new regulations. This circular may have been issued to Barnardo's homes in Scotland; we have no evidence one way or the other.
other. The second edition of the *Barnardo Book* issued in 1955 does make mention of the statutory regulations now in place as follows:

Superintendents should be familiar with the Home Office Regulations as laid down in the Administration of Children's Homes Regulations, 1951, and their interpretation as given in the Memorandum by the Home Office on the Conduct of Children’s Homes, para, 48-10 and Appendix III page 13.¹⁰⁷

The *Book* then proceeds to state how superintendents should apply the statutory rules.¹⁰⁸

Discussion of disciplinary issues in homes within the *Book* is lengthy—running to seven pages—yet these are clear on the point that a 'list of specific punishments for specific misdemeanours is not desirable, since a punishment should fit the character of the child rather than the misdemeanour.'¹⁰⁹ A summary of the *Book's* advice on discipline is as follows.¹¹⁰

- The prevention of situations that might give rise to children requiring punishment is strongly advised, including using methods of distraction from unacceptable behaviour.
- Punishment of behaviours such as 'enuresis, masturbation, nail biting, or other nervous affections' is not permitted.
- Home Office rules are reiterated regarding: not using corporal punishment on children under 10 years 'except by smacking his hands with the bare hand of the person administering the punishment'; not administering corporal punishment to girls over 10 years old or to boys over the school leaving age; when such punishment is applied to boys over 10-years old the only method to be used was by 'a caning of the posterior of the boy with a cane of a type approved by the Secretary of State applied over the boy’s ordinary clothing to the extent of six strokes or less', and all such punishments had to be undertaken only by an authorised person (the officer in charge or a designated deputy). Punishments with a cane were not to be administered in front of other children.

¹⁰⁷ *The Barnardo Book* (1955), p. 56 [BAR.001.004.1040].
¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 56-57 [BAR.001.004.1040-1].
¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 62 [BAR.001.004.1046].
¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 56-62 [BAR.001.004.1040-6].

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• Other punishments include: for disobedience the advice given is to deprive children of playtime with others, and small children might be sent to bed; and for stealing food the deprivation was to be of some form of treat (e.g. cake), with the deprivation implemented as near to the incident of bad behaviour as possible.
• General, but non-prescriptive guidance is given for various types of misdemeanours such as depriving the child of a portion of pocket money for causing wilful damage, or, using a ‘probation system’ wherein the child must report to a member of staff a few times per day.
• Locking a child in a room is forbidden, as is leaving a child alone in a dark room.

Generally, the guidelines in the Book discourage physical chastisement as far as possible and encourage those in charge of children to use methods of positive reinforcement for good behaviour.

Staff are encouraged to seek guidance whenever necessary (e.g. from a medical officer or the Area Chief Executive Officer) in cases where there is anxiety over a child’s behaviour.

Staff were encouraged to lead by example:

…it is undeniable that the maintenance of a proper standard of discipline depends upon the personality of whoever is in charge, and it is also true that the best disciplinarian finds it least necessary to employ punishments. The first requisite is to build up in a Home a good tradition... 111

It is conceded in the text that sometimes corporal punishment must be used, but that this must only be ‘when it is quite clear in the mind of the Head of a Home that it is absolutely necessary’. It is also conceded that ‘It is probably a good thing that the boys should know that there is a cane in the cupboard’. 112

Recording of Discipline and Punishment Regimes

Recording of punishment was required according to the Barnardo Book, as follows:

A record of every punishment (not only corporal punishment) except quite trivial ones, together with reasons for it, should be entered at once in a “punishment

111 Ibid., p. 59 [BAR.001.004.1043].
112 Ibid., p. 61 [BAR.001.004.1045].
book", dated and signed by the Superintendent. A copy of this must be attached to each week's report to Headquarters. This record can be of great help when dealing with difficult children as it gives a picture of their difficulties and the various methods of treatment adopted.\textsuperscript{113}

This requirement was in accordance with the regulations issued by the Home Office in 1951, which applied in England and Wales.\textsuperscript{114} We know also that the Scottish Office inspectorate had long encouraged the keeping of some form of record of corporal punishment within children's homes. This was required in Scottish Remand Homes and Approved Schools from the 1930s, though was not included in the 1947 regulations for boarding out. Yet the boarding-out regulations do specify that any issues regarding a child's behaviour had to be reported to the local authority officer responsible for visiting the child and the officer was required to report any such issues back to the local authority—thus implying that these events should be recorded somewhere, but not specifying exactly where.

We do not know how any of these requirements were interpreted by Barnardo's in Scotland. If punishment books were kept, these records have not survived.\textsuperscript{115} A minute from a Management Meeting in 1975 relating to the supervision of residential units does remind ACO(R)/SRO's to sign the punishment book regularly suggesting there was an understanding at management level that such books were maintained.\textsuperscript{116}

Difficulties regarding a child's behaviour are sometimes recorded in logs kept by individual homes. In these diaries, all kinds of general information are recorded such as the admission, discharge or transfer of children, the departure or commencement

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., p. 62 [BAR.001.004.1046]. An inspection report from 1967 notes that the progress reports sent to headquarters were often not copied over into case files, see NRS ED11/690/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Ravelrig, Balerna; inspection report dated 23 May 1967 [SGV.001.002.9777].

\textsuperscript{114} Children and Young Persons, Local Authority and Voluntary Homes: The Administration of Children's Homes Regulations, 1951 (Statutory Instruments 1951 No. 1217, HMSO, London), Schedule Regulation 3, p. 5 [LEG.001.001.2855].

\textsuperscript{115} Among the records provided to the Inquiry, and to which we had access, is a record of punishments administered to children at Quinta Residential School for Boys run by Barnardo’s [BAR.001.004.1785]. It is understood that the school was situated in Shropshire. Entries in this example of a Punishment Book date from February 1942 until September 1974 when it is understood that Barnardo's ceased administration of this school. The records indicate that punishments were administered by the Headmaster or a deputy teacher appointed for the task, not by residential child care workers.

\textsuperscript{116} Barnardo Records: Management Group Meeting 9.5.75, minute MGM.285 [BAR.001.004.1920].

\textsuperscript{42} Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry – Dr Barnardo's Homes (Dr Barnardo's/Barnardo's Scotland): 1930s to 1990s
of staff members, vaccinations and medical procedures performed, any accidents sustained by children, school prizes won, and so forth. Where misdemeanours are concerned, the event and the name of the child involved is recorded, but the punishment applied, if any, is not always recorded. Such entries are infrequent in the reviewed records. Available examples of extracts from log books from different homes all relate to the late 1950s through to the early 1960s. In these, the following examples represent the types of entries found that record the behaviour of children:

27.02.59  [JA] Took 5 doz new pencils from school store. Returned to store later with [name] and took a couple of dozen more. No pocket money.

18.09.59  [JA] Stole 6/6 from staff bedroom. Pocket money withdrawn.\[17\]

13.09.58  [DG] Stealing cigarettes and matches from cleaner’s handbag. To replace loss from pocket money & reprimanded.\[18\]

9.01.58   [RP] Sent home after 8.1.58 – violent, defiant & destructive conduct culminating tonight in refusal to go to bed, attempt to climb out of window, complete hysteria, alternating with feigned “fits”. In one way or another he demanded the attention of the staff for 14 hours and proved an intolerable disruptive influence. H M [Headmaster?] had him returned next morning to care of his mother. Originally this boy was not brought to Craigerne “in care, technically or otherwise,” but simply as “his mother’s son”.\[19\]

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31.08.59 [DR] Absent from class on afternoon of 4/9/59. Extra lessons on Sat. morning & deprived of pocket money for week.¹²⁰

[RJ]

[NG]

6.2.61 [WG] Enticed six other boys to play truant - found by Police about 3 miles away.¹²¹

14.5.58 [PN] attacked [AM] truanted from school & picked up by Police in Edin. during the afternoon. Brought back 4 30 pm. Cleared off 5 pm. Out till 11 pm. Attempted to clear off again 6 am next morning but stopped by Mr Mace. Paying toward cost of transport.¹²²

10.1.59 [KL] Rude to Miss Thomson & threw tin across bathroom. 2 strokes of cane.¹²³

11.11.59 [KL] Rudeness to Miss Thomson. 1 stroke of cane.¹²⁴

7.1.59 [JH] Pilfering in shops. Privileges stopped.¹²⁵

[AY]

[AT]

[AL]

26.8.59 [SC] Expelled from school.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ Ibid., [BAR.001.002.5418].
¹²¹ Ibid. [BAR.001.002.5421].
¹²³ Ibid. [BAR.001.002.5434].
¹²⁴ Ibid. [BAR.001.002.5436].
¹²⁶ Ibid. [BAR.001.002.5458].

⁴⁴ Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry – Dr Barnardo’s Homes (Dr Barnardo’s/Barnardo’s Scotland): 1930s to 1990s
As can be seen, the kinds of behaviour that were recorded and responses to this often lack detail—we do not know if this was recorded elsewhere. In only one case is there recording of corporal punishment being administered and here the use of the 'cane' is specified as per instructions given in the Barnardo Book. The use of a cane was not a tradition in Scotland, even in Approved Schools. However, the regulations issued in Scotland in 1959 were non-specific on this matter and stated only that corporal punishment should be administered according to ‘the manner and limits’ specified by the authority caring for the child.\(^{127}\)

There is a degree of uniformity across different homes in the style of these entries, which suggests that this was the preferred method of recording in Barnardo’s Scottish homes. However, if this was the case, there is often an absence of detail regarding disciplinary measures employed—a common problem in Scotland in children’s homes of all kinds.

Surviving records of inspections conducted by the Scottish Office in some Dr Barnardo’s Homes during the 1960s confirm that generally standard records used by Barnardo’s on a UK basis were in place. For example, in the following for Tyneholm in 1968:

Dr. Barnardo’s typed records are kept applicable to Britain generally. They do cover however:

A register.

A log book in diary form with suitable entries, which involves the submission to Headquarters of a weekly log sheet.

Medical records complete and up-to-date.

They do not however keep personal history sheets in terms of progress made during the stay in the home.\(^ {128}\)

There is no reference made in any surviving inspection records for Barnardo’s homes about the keeping of a separate punishment book. However, this was not unusual in...
Scottish children’s homes in the voluntary sector where the issue of punishment was left to the discretion of managers.129

In 1967, following some bad publicity given to the punishment regime in one of Glasgow’s children’s homes (Gryffe Home situated in Renfrewshire), some discussion took place at the Scottish Office about whether new regulations should be issued, or further advice given on the matter of punishment. In surviving documentation, we learn that civil servants were aware that punishment was inadequately recorded and denials of its use at all were frequent. Within this context the inspectorate was asked to conduct a survey of punishment and its recording in a sample of Scottish children’s homes in both the voluntary and statutory sector. Various minutes comment on the matter and on the findings of the survey. In respect of the latter one civil servant commented that: ‘I do not feel we can give complete credence to the information: I think we can regard it only as the minimum of punishment inflicted.’ 130

The writer further commented that ‘[a] point which calls for comment is perhaps that on paper voluntary homes inflict more punishment than local authority homes.’ 131

And more generally another writer at the Scottish Office stated:

In most voluntary Children’s Homes the methods of maintaining discipline are left to the discretion of the person in charge. Many of these deny the use of corporal punishment and many assert that it is seldom used.

In their inspection of Children’s Homes the Inspectors are alive to these problems and to the clues which suggest an unsatisfactory situation.132

Only one of Barnardo’s homes took part in the Survey, Balcary. The results submitted for this home were that five punishments in total had been administered over a

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129 See NRS ED11/854/2: Discipline: Corporal Punishment; this file contains various statements and minutes on the subject of punishment, together with the results of a survey done in a sample of Scottish children’s homes which attempted to collect data on how often punishment was administered over one month (February 1968) [SGV.001.004.9912-9]. It should be noted that this survey was conducted within a sample of Scottish homes—voluntary and local authority run; it should not be confused with any similar survey conducted by the Home Office in London centred upon English and Welsh childcare establishments.

130 Ibid., minute by Miss Strongman, addressed to Miss P. A. Cox, dated 7 August 1968 [SGV.001.008.5010].

131 Ibid., minute by Miss Strongman, addressed to Miss P. A. Cox, dated 7 August 1968 [SGV.001.008.5010].

132 Ibid., minute by C. U. Corner addressed to Miss Strongman, dated 16 October 1967 [SGV.001.008.4904].
month, and the method used was ‘the tawse’ applied to the hands. At Tyneholm around the same time it was reported to an SED inspector that the Superintendent had ‘stopped corporal punishment and relies on loss of privileges. He encourages good behaviour by the example of the staff and fostering staff/child relationships, including the domestic staff. There are no absconders’. This Superintendent had been deputy for eight years and was newly promoted to being in charge, but it is inferred that corporal punishment had been in use at this home previously. Yet there is no mention of this in an earlier inspection report done in 1965. While the inspectorate were generally not keen on the use of corporal punishment, they could do little to discourage this so long as institutions claimed to stay within existing regulations.

While there was probably more centralised control at play in Barnardo’s Scottish homes, with circulars and guidance being issued to Scotland as a ‘region’ in the same manner as it was to Barnardo’s regional offices throughout other parts of the UK, nonetheless the Scottish operation was a long way from London. In terms of reviewed records it is impossible to know how far staff in Barnardo’s homes adhered to the letter of The Barnardo Book, which incorporated regulation applicable to establishments in England and Wales, or if they were more guided by regulations and guidance issued in Scotland. Strictly speaking, the latter should have had more purchase given that the children looked after were resident in Scotland and placed in Barnardo homes by Scottish local authorities. While the government inspectorate sometimes may not have asked questions about the nature of punishment as they were aware that staff often claimed that corporal punishment was necessary at times to control behaviour, without doubt they were ‘alive to the problems’ where the use of such punishment was concerned—about which inspectors had many misgivings.

133 Ibid., survey on ‘Punishment in Children’s Homes’, p. 6 [SGV.001.004.9917].
134 NRS ED11/715/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Tyneholm House Pencaitland, Inspection Report dated 26 June 1968 [SGV.001.002.9918].
135 Ibid., Inspection Report dated 5 May 1965. The houseparents in post at this time were long time employees in child care having been at Barnardo’s for 10 years and previously at Quarrier’s Homes for 16 years [SGV.001.002.9908-10].
136 See for example, NRS ED11/854/2: Discipline: Corporal Punishment; minute by C. U. Corner addressed to Miss Strongman, dated 16 October 1967. In this correspondence, the writer states clearly that corporal punishment ‘probably never produces any ultimate good’ but discusses various reasons why the Secretary of State found it difficult to ‘lay down hard and fast rules’ on its practice [SGV.001.008.4904].
137 NRS ED11/854/2: Discipline: Corporal Punishment; minute by C. U. Corner addressed to Miss Strongman, dated 16 October 1967 [SGV.001.008.4904].
c.1970-1990

Guidance

The 1959 Regulations for the Administration of Homes remained in place until 1987. Within this timeframe, the only record reviewed relevant to guidance on any form of punishment dates to 1977 and is presented in the form of a circular letter as follows:

1. The only form of corporal punishment permitted by Barnardo’s is in relation to a child under ten years of age and is limited to a smack on the child’s hand with the bare open hand of the person administering the punishment. An entry must be made in the punishment book and on the child’s personal file. No child suffering from a mental or physical disability should be smacked.

2. Any other form of corporal punishment is forbidden. The term ‘corporal punishment’ includes striking, cuffing, shaking, the use of a cane, strap, slipper, tawse or other implement, or any other form of physical violence.

3. It is sometimes necessary to restrain physically a child who is about to harm himself or others. Only such effort as is needed strictly to calm the situation should be employed. No element of physical punishment should be used. A record of such an incident should be made on the child’s file.

4. Any breach of these rules by a member of staff will be investigated and may lead to disciplinary action which could include dismissal.

5. In making these rules, Barnardo’s is exercising its right to apply restrictions to the use of corporal punishment in addition to those prescribed by various statutory regulations. Staff should be aware, however, that if corporal punishment of a type which is not allowed by the statutory regulations is used not only are they in breach of a Barnardo rule but they are also breaking the law. A copy of the statutory regulations is kept in the school/home/centre/office.
6. Staff are required to ensure that any infringement of these rules is brought to the attention of the home/school/centre's supervising officer.\textsuperscript{138}

We have no way of knowing for certain if this circular was sent to the regional office in Scotland. The inclusion of a strap as an instrument used to punish implies this also since this was the common method used in Scotland. There was, however, no obligation in the existing Scottish regulations to keep a punishment book; this was a requirement in English regulations and in the 1955 Barnardo Book.

As to other forms of punishment, in Scotland something of a light touch was used and the matter was left up to individual local authorities and voluntary providers to set their own guidance so long as it accorded with such regulations as were in place.\textsuperscript{139} Inspectors sometimes advised individual homes to keep a punishment record; this might happen if they suspected overuse of punishment. But there was widespread lack of compliance with such advice. By the 1970s, in any case, the use of corporal punishment was becoming increasingly frowned upon and discouraged.

It is interesting that Barnardo’s planned to issue this circular in 1977, for it anticipated the re-introduction of corporal punishment by managers at Quarrier’s Homes later that same year. The latter had been persuaded to ban this form of punishment in its establishments sometime in or around 1974, but later discovered that staff were failing to comply. In order to address staff demands and attempt to keep some control over how punishment was administered, Quarrier’s decided to re-introduce corporal punishment allegedly based on the policy used by Barnardo’s homes.\textsuperscript{140} Barnardo’s later denied that this was the case, or that corporal punishment was used in any of their homes. The matter was discussed at length among staff of the Social Work Services Group (SWSG) at the Scottish Office. Barnardo’s stance is recorded in a minute addressed to several members of SWSG:

I should perhaps say that subsequently I was told by John Rea [Barnardo’s senior executive in Scotland at this time] of Barnardo’s that corporal punishment is not

\textsuperscript{138} Barnardo Record: Draft Circular Corporal Punishment, dated 7 January 1977 [BAR.001.004.1773].
\textsuperscript{139} NRS ED11/854//2: Discipline: Corporal Punishment, minute by C. U. Corner addressed to Miss Strongman, dated 16 October 1967 [SGV.001.008.4904].
\textsuperscript{140} For a fuller discussion of this see Quarrier’s Report, pp. 42-4.
used in any of their homes and he is sending me a copy of their Code of Practice.\textsuperscript{141}

It is impossible to know the truth of what went on regarding Quarrier’s allegation that Barnardo’s had inspired their new policy. Quarrier’s director—Dr James Minto—claimed to have approached other voluntary organisations for advice.\textsuperscript{142} Barnardo’s were certainly keen to refute that any advice came from them.

Recording of Discipline and Punishment Regimes

We have no direct information with which to address this question. While institutional rules existed regarding the keeping of punishment books in Barnardo homes, the documentation provided to us by the Inquiry did not include examples of punishment books in relation to Scottish homes and schools run by this organisation. Furthermore, the documents we were able to access via the Inquiry did not include institutional records—such as diaries or logs—relating to this timeframe.

According to Barnardo’s policy, incidences of punishment were supposed to be noted ‘on the child’s file’ as well as in a punishment book. We have consulted the small number of available records and have not found any recorded instances of corporal punishment being administered. Where persistent problems with behaviour existed, generally speaking, case files reveal that children were referred to psychological and/or child psychiatric services. Although challenging and difficult behaviours are often described in children’s case files, how this was dealt with is rarely described in any detail. A few exceptions to this are as follows:

I asked [child] three times to stop speaking at the table so that I could "serve up" the lunch and find out what everyone would like, we were dining in the kitchen, when I asked for the fourth time I gave him a shake, he told me in a very insolent way to "fuck off" I told him he was not going to speak to me like that and I removed him from the kitchen, after a struggle.\textsuperscript{143}

On Sunday afternoon [child] swore at me. I told him he would go to bed 30 mins earlier than usual. At nine thirty I told him to come for his hot drink. At nine forty

\textsuperscript{141} NRS ED39/1040: Discipline: \textit{Corporal Punishment in Quarriers Homes}; Minute dated 22 August 1977 from J. I. Smith on the issue of Quarrier’s re-introduction of corporal punishment [SGV.001.002.9641].

\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., Minute dated 24 August 1977 from Mr J. I. Smith to 6 others in SWSG [SGV.001.002.9637]

\textsuperscript{143} Barnardo Records: case file for [redacted] family, entry dated 7 July 1972, signed by 'D. Falconer' [BAR.001.003.0846].

\textsuperscript{50} Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry – Dr Barnardo’s Homes (Dr Barnardo’s/Barnardo’s Scotland): 1930s to 1990s
I returned to the big ones sitting room and told him to go to his bed. He got up and started shouting and swearing and refused to leave the room, I pushed him out and he went berserk. He lifted a glass vase and threw it at me. It hit the wall and smashed, He then flew at me kicking and punching and screaming. I gripped his hair and his arm twisting it slightly to get him to his room. When we got there he fought his way loose and got hold of two spears (used by bullfighters) and tried to stab and slash me. He then threw the spears at me. I managed to get him onto his bed. He was hysterical, shouting and screaming trying to fight me off, I slapped his face twice. Mrs Bryant came into the room and said that I should leave him to calm down. As we went for the door, [child] flew for the window and opened it. He had removed the safety blocks that morning unbeknown to us. He got out onto the ledge and said he would jump. He was out for one and a half hours refusing to come in. When Craig Falconer came onto the scene and told him not to be so stupid he came back.  

It may well be that disciplinary issues were detailed in institutional logs/diaries but instances where these are carried over into individual case files are not common. Within the latter it is more common to find reports, correspondence, medical notes, and educational records. We do not have examples of institutional logs for this timeframe.

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144 Ibid., entry dated 2 June 1974 signed by G. Holton (or Holton - name unclear in reproduction) [BAR.001.003.0862].
Question 2A: Complaints

The management of Barnardo’s was hierarchical and ultimate decision-making power lay at the London headquarters. In overall charge, was a Council made up of ex-officio members and elected members, which met several times per year in London and appointed committees to handle specific aspects of the organisation’s work: these included a Finance Committee and Management Committee. At the headquarters in London, various departments existed but all were ultimately answerable to a General Superintendent whose role is described as follows in the 1955 edition of *The Barnardo Book*:

The General Superintendent is the Principal Officer on the children’s side of the work of Dr. Barnardo’s Homes and he is responsible to the Council for its administration and the welfare of all children, past and present, as well as of the Staff who have the care of them at home and overseas. He is the channel through which instructions of the Council and its committees are conveyed to all members of Staff employed for the care, training and education of children or staff. ¹⁴⁵

There was also a deputy superintendent. From this centralised control, power was then devolved to eight regions, one of which was Scotland, and a Chief Executive Officer headed each regional division.

In the earlier decades of this timeframe, if and when any complaints were made, depending on their nature, the channel for these would have been upwards within this hierarchy. At later dates, most children were placed in Barnardo’s homes by local authorities who under statutory regulations were obliged to visit the child on a regular basis in order to ascertain the child’s welfare and progress. In the event of complaints being made about matters related to the child’s welfare, individual children’s officers or social workers should have learned of these when making such checks.

**Made by children and young people**

As we have noted, case files might reveal responses by children to disciplinary measures. However, within the reviewed records we have not noted an example of a child making formal complaints about their treatment that were taken forward by the

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¹⁴⁵ *The Barnardo Book*, p. 90 [BAR.001.004.1074].

52 Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry – Dr Barnardo’s Homes (Dr Barnardo’s/Barnardo’s Scotland): 1930s to 1990s
management of Barnardo's in Scotland. We cannot say that such events did not take place, only that we have not recovered any examples of this type of complaint.

**Made by staff**

In available records we have no note of any instances of complaints being made by staff or former staff members of Barnardo's homes.

**Made by others (i.e. social workers, parents, etc.)**

In available records we have not noted any such complaints. It should be noted, however, that there is evidence that it was sometimes made difficult for parents to visit when children were placed in a residential facility at some distance from their home. This was a particular difficulty in the residential schools run by Barnardo's. Opportunities for parents to make complaints might therefore be restricted. Around the late 1960s, for example, inspectors noted:

> Virtually all the children now in care of Barnardo's in Scotland are placed by local authorities, either by the social work department or by the local education authority. There are still difficulties when children are placed by education departments as they do not really see the need for social work liaison work between family and school and are often difficult about paying for parents to visit the children etc.\(^{146}\)

**Responses to complaints, including justifications for lack of action**

It is clear from a circular issued in 1953 that serious complaints might travel up the management hierarchy to the General Superintendent. This circular informs its readers that an allegation had been made ‘that a member of staff interfered with one or more boys.’ It proceeds then to describe how staff should respond to such allegations in future and states that:

1. The Superintendent’s first task is to find out the facts. For this purpose it is essential to record brief statements of any witnesses who can speak from their own knowledge. Hearsay is not evidence.

2. The next step depends upon facts and probabilities but, in general, when allegations have been made affecting a member of staff the right course is to tell

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\(^{146}\) See NRS ED11/664/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Blackford Brae, note of Barnardo's Homes by Barbara Reed, no date [SGV.001.002.9897].
him what the allegations are and to ask what statement he wishes to make. This statement should be recorded and signed.

3. There will, however, be cases where the Superintendent may wish to have guidance before confronting a member of staff with the allegations made against him. In that case no time must be lost in consulting with the Chief Executive Officer. In any case the facts must be reported at once to the Chief Executive Officer for further instructions when the statements from both sides have been recorded. The Chief Executive Officer will decide, after consultation if necessary, whether and when the police should be called in.147

In later decades, while there might have been greater devolution of power to regions in some respects, for example in staff recruitment, we do not know how this operated regarding complaints about services or the treatment of individuals.

What complaints procedures, if any, were in place and how did they work?

We have no records with which to address this question.

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147 Barnardo Records: Confidential letter from the General Superintendent addressed to all Chief Executive Officers and Superintendents, dated 22 June 1953, signed by E. H. Lucette [BAR.001.004.2136].

54 Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry – Dr Barnardo’s Homes (Dr Barnardo’s/Barnardo’s Scotland): 1930s to 1990s
Question 3: Inspection and Monitoring

c.1940-1950

External Inspection

There are few available records detailing external inspection for this period. In the first decade of their existence in Scotland, homes run by Barnardo’s had a very shifting population. It took time to move many children relocated during the war back to England and there was pressure on available places to take in Scottish children. Indeed, if ‘after care’ placements in Scotland could be found for older children ready to leave care, some did not return to England. A report to headquarters made in 1948 describes two young women who had been residents of the Cloan evacuation centre getting married to locals. Many of the children first moved into the new homes were relocated there from the evacuation centres that were progressively closed. When these children’s homes (as opposed to evacuation centres) were set up from 1944 onward, it is likely that there were visits from the Home Department’s inspectorate; however, there do not appear to be any surviving records for these.

Given the number of local children newly placed in Barnardo’s Scottish homes was relatively small, it is unlikely there was much involvement with local authority public assistance or children’s departments, though there may have been some. For example, in 1948 this was the picture where admissions were concerned:

During the first six months of 1948, 24 Scots children have been admitted to the Scottish Homes, and there has been 1 emergency admission to Burroughs Green. A further 23 have been accepted for admission and await vacancies. Of these 7 are members of one family and application for their admission was made by the Director of Education for Wigtownshire. They are being admitted to English Homes pending vacancies in Scotland becoming available. Of the 21 children admitted 5 are coloured illegitimate children of married women, and of the 14 promised one is the first application under Section 44 of the new Education Act made on the advice of a member of the Home Department with a special appeal that the child should be admitted to Balcary.

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149 Ibid., p. 1 [BAR.001.002.5478].
Whether and when the Wigtownshire children returned to Scotland we cannot say, or whether these children were visited by a childcare officer from this county as per the conditions set out in the 1947 Boarding Out regulations. As well as these seven children, a further five boys and four girls were sent to England that year—these children would have been voluntary placements.  

In the early years, the novelty of these homes did attract other types of external visitors:

> We get many visitors and friends from elsewhere, some of whom are sent by the Scottish Home Department. Amongst the latter we welcomed a lady doctor from Ceylon, another from India, and a United Nations student from Bombay, Mr. Chitanand, in charge of the probation work in Bombay district. We have also had visitor from New Zealand, Germany and Denmark.  

As we have noted the Home Department likely did visit new homes, but we cannot know how frequently. There is evidence of visits by Barnardo’s staff and Council representatives from London which are described as ‘routine’:

> Dr. Smith and Miss Carlyle paid routine visits this autumn. We were glad to welcome Mr. Lucette also for a very brief visit in the summer.

We have no information regarding criteria for inspection in this period in terms of external inspection or visits. Visits by the Scottish representative who oversaw all homes in Scotland informed the reports made by this person that were sent twice a year in this period to headquarters. Interest was taken in the numbers of children in residence, numbers of admissions and discharges, upgrading to the fabric of the homes, the relationship the home developed with the local area, staffing of the homes and the general development of care within these settings.

**Organisational responses to findings and recommendations from reviews**

The content of reports submitted from Scotland were discussed at meetings of Barnardo’s General Council and meetings of its committees. Generally, the power to

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150 Ibid., p. 1 [BAR.001.002.5478].
151 Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Scottish Representative on the last six months of 1951, dated 4 February 1952, p. 5 [BAR.001.002.5501].
152 Ibid. [BAR.001.002.5501].
make decisions about child care lay in London rather than Edinburgh. It appears likely that Barnardo's services were viewed favourably by staff at the Scottish Office.

Available extracts from minutes reveal the generally cordial relationship that developed between Barnardo's and the Scottish Home Department, and the manner in which plans for further development in Scotland were viewed by the central administration at Barnardo's, for example in 1947:

Scottish Homes. The Planning Sub-Committee had agreed that efforts should be made to obtain another property in Scotland and that when this had been acquired a decision should be reached whether Blackford Brae or the new property should be used as a brothers' and sister' Home. It was pointed out that when Blackford Brae was purchased it was intended for use as a Reception Centre.153

And sometime in 1948:

Future Development. Mr. Potter said that when in Scotland recently he met Mr Hewitson Brown, Head of the Children's Branch of the Scottish Home Department, Mr. Brown expressed appreciation of the work done by Barnardo's in Scotland and he hoped we would consider opening homes in Perth, Aberdeen and Glasgow. Mr. Tetley suggested that for administrative reasons it would be inadvisable to establish homes further north than Perth. This was agreed.

Senior Course. The Committee were interested to learn that at the request of the Scottish Home Department the Staff Training Committee had agreed to the children's officer for Paisley attending the senior course after receiving a month's practical training at Balcary.154

Internal Monitoring

Barnardo's had its own system of visitation by both members of its Council, representatives from headquarters, and professionals employed by Barnardo's to supervise the likes of medical care and domestic arrangements for children. In the first months of 1948, the following visitors to the homes are noted:

During the Spring, Lady Ogilvie visited the Scottish Homes and Dr. Hislop made a complete tour, including the then unoccupied houses. Both Dr. Gilmore and

153 Barnardo Records: extracts from minutes relating to reports submitted by the Scottish representative, no date, likely c. 1947 [BAR.001.001.0351].
154 Ibid., c. 1948 [BAR.001.001.0353].
Mr. Potter have recently carried out inspection of the Homes, and Miss Opie, Dr. Smith and Miss Dyson have been to see the children.\textsuperscript{155}

The Scottish Representative based in Edinburgh also visited the homes, but available records do not reveal how often, or if such visits were announced.

Towards the end of 1948, it was decided that development in Scotland would be under the following terms from January 1949. Decision-making was largely the province of London-based managers so external to the Scottish operation but internal to Barnardos.

1. Applications in Scotland to be received by, and enquiries made by, the Scottish Representative and her staff.

2. The decision whether a child should be admitted or not to be made at Headquarters and communicated to the Scottish Representative. All Scottish children to be admitted to homes in Scotland unless there is a specific reason, such as physical disability, which makes it advisable for a child to be received at a branch home in England.

3. The Placement Committee to have authority to send English children to Scottish homes where special circumstances render such a course advisable, it being understood that such discretion shall be exercised sparingly.

4. The Scottish Representative to have power to transfer children from one branch home to another or from one foster home to another, subject to report to Headquarters. In the case of the transfer of a child from a branch home to a foster-home or vice-versa, the approval of the Placement Committee should first be sought. Initial placements to be determined by the Placement Committee in consultation with the Scottish Representative. Recalls from foster-homes to branch homes to be reported immediately to the Placement Committee.

5. For an experimental period, the Scottish Representative to be responsible to the General Superintendent for all boarding out and A.B.O. [auxiliary boarding out] work in Scotland. Every effort to be made by the Scottish Representative to promote local interest in boarding-out, particularly on

\textsuperscript{155} Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Scottish Representative for the first six months of 1948, dated July 1948, p. 4 [BAR.001.002.5481].

\textsuperscript{58} Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry – Dr Barnardo’s Homes (Dr Barnardo’s/Barnardo’s Scotland); 1930s to 1990s
the part of the Superintendents. Payments to foster-parents to be made by the Scottish office.

6. The Scottish Representative to undertake the supervision of the education of children in branch homes and foster-homes, consulting as necessary with the Deputy General Superintendent and the Educational Adviser.

7. Holidays for children from branch homes or foster-homes to relatives or friends to require the sanction of the Deputy General Superintendent in the first instance. On subsequent occasions holidays to the same people at the same address may be allowed at the discretion of the Scottish Representative.

8. The Scottish Representative to be responsible for the placement of boys and girls in situations after consulting the appropriate Chief Executive Officer and to be responsible to the Chief Executive Officers for after care.

9. Applications for restoration to be submitted by the Scottish Representative to the Deputy General Superintendent whose decision will be communicated to her for action.\footnote{Ibid., c. late 1948 [BAR.001.001.0354].}

On top of this, all adoptions were controlled from headquarters. And the Scottish Representative was instructed to obtain a weekly report from all superintendents of ‘permanent homes’ in Scotland, which had to be sent on to London; twice yearly reports by the Scottish representative sent to headquarters were also confirmed.\footnote{Ibid., c. late 1948 [BAR.001.001.0355].}

We have not been provided with any surviving examples of the weekly reports completed by homes and sent on to London.

\textbf{c.1950-1970}

External Inspection

In this period, homes were visited by the Scottish Office childcare inspectorate; residential schools may also have been inspected by the education inspectorate. As more children were placed by local authorities, the involvement of their children’s officers increased. By 1952 it was commented that:

\footnote{Ibid., c. late 1948 [BAR.001.001.0354].}

\footnote{Ibid., c. late 1948 [BAR.001.001.0355].}
Representatives from the Scottish Home Department visit the Homes regularly, and frequently send out other visitors, Children's Officers, etc. They are always helpful in their criticism and very appreciative of the work being done.\textsuperscript{158}

Unfortunately, we have no government records that would confirm this, but as we have seen, the Scottish Home Department appeared to have built a close relationship with Barnardo's and during the 1940s and 1950s encouraged their development in Scotland. Interest shown by government in the actual workings of the homes reflects this. In the single example of a surviving visitor's book provided to us we are able to see that Mr Hewitson Brown of the Scottish Home Department paid a visit to Balcary in February 1954.\textsuperscript{159} In February 1955, Balcary had a further visit by another inspector.\textsuperscript{160}

For the 1960s, there are surviving Scottish Office inspection reports as follows:

1965  Tyneholm (5 May 1965)\textsuperscript{161}  
       Balcary (20 August 1965)\textsuperscript{162}

1967  Blackford Brae (twice during this year: 23 February 1967 & 21 November 1967)\textsuperscript{163}  
       Ravelrig Training Home (5 May 1967)\textsuperscript{164}  
       Cruachan (28 July 1967)\textsuperscript{165}

1968  Tyneholm (19 June 1968)\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{158} Barnardo Records: Report of the Scottish Representative on the first six months of 1952, dated 28 August 1952, p. 6 [BAR.001.002.5513].

\textsuperscript{159} Barnardo Records: Balcary Visitors' Book, Hewitson Brown's signature is entered for 9 February 1954 [BAR.001.004.2047].

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid., M.C.F. Ramsay from the Scottish Home Department visited on 13 and 21 February 1955; [BAR.001.004.2050] Ramsay returned on 22 September 1955 [BAR.001.004.2052] and on 4 January 1956 [BAR.001.004.2053].

\textsuperscript{161} NRS ED11/715/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors' Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Tyneholm House Pencaitland [SGV.001.002.9908-10].

\textsuperscript{162} NRS ED11/716/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors' Reports: Dr Barnardo's Balcary, Hawick [SGV.001.002.9927-32].

\textsuperscript{163} NRS ED11/664/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors' Reports: Dr Barnardo's Blackford Brae [SGV.001.002.9881-7 and SGV.001.002.9892-4].

\textsuperscript{164} NRS ED11/690/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors' Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Ravelrig, Balerno [SGV.001.002.9775-8].

\textsuperscript{165} NRS ED11/859/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors' Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Home for Diabetics “Cruachan”, Balerno [SGV.001.004.8310].

\textsuperscript{166} NRS ED11/715/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors' Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Tyneholm House Pencaitland [SGV.001.002.9915-21].

\textsuperscript{60} Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry – Dr Barnardo’s Homes (Dr Barnardo’s/Barnardo’s Scotland): 1930s to 1990s
Other homes run by Barnardo’s were probably visited in this period, but we do not have surviving reports.\footnote{167}

Local Authorities’ children’s officers were required to visit children they placed with Barnardo’s. From 1947, visits were supposed to take place at least every six months and following the introduction of new regulations in 1959, visitation was to be carried out every three months. By the mid-1960s, with the opening of residential schools and more specialist homes, the majority of children placed with Barnardo’s in Scotland came via local authorities. For example, in the year 1965-66 of 116 admissions to the homes, 103 were from a variety of local councils and the homes could not accept all applications.\footnote{168} Some children were placed by authorities at some distance. For example, in 1962, 28 children in Barnardo homes came from Aberdeen.\footnote{169}

Within the surviving Scottish Office inspection records obtained, note is made of such visits. For example, at Balcary when it was inspected in 1965 it is stated that, ‘all local authority children receive regular visits from their Child Care Officer.’\footnote{170} And at Ravelrig, where babies and toddlers were placed, it was stated that case conferences were held:

\begin{quote}
  twice yearly at least with the respective Children’s Officers to discuss the children’s progress, and to plan their future...closer liaison between the local authorities and the Home is being developed by the Home’s Welfare Officer visiting the children’s own homes.\footnote{171}
\end{quote}

Without access to visitor books for all the individual homes, and/or local authority held case records we cannot know how well individual councils complied with the regulations for visitation.

\footnotesize\begin{itemize}
\item[167] See a note in NRS ED11/859/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Home for Diabetics “Cruachan”, Balerno; note by Barbara Reed indicated that The Tower home in Edinburgh was also visited in 1967 but we do not have a surviving report of this event [SGV.001.004.8318].
\item[168] Barnardo Records, Annual Reports: Annual Report for the Scottish Region 1.1.65 – 1.3.66, p. 1 [BAR.001.002.5630].
\item[170] NRS ED11/716/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Balcary, Hawick, inspection report dated 7 September 1965 [SGV.001.002.9930]; the Balcary Visitors’ Book reveals occasional visits by local authority officers in the 1950s, see for example visit made by Edinburgh Children’s Services’ officer and Lanarkshire’s Children’s Officer on the same day—3 May 1956 [BAR.001.004.2053].
\item[171] NRS ED11/690/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Ravelrig, Balerno, Inspection Report dated 23 May 1967 [SGV.001.002.9777].
\end{itemize}
Aside from such official visits, recommendations made in the report of the Scottish Advisory Council’s Committee on Homes, published in 1950, encouraged a system of ‘foster aunts’ for children in long-term residential care. These aunts were volunteers and often came from women’s organisations and local churches. This volunteer system had mixed responses from many providers. However, there is evidence that Barnardo’s complied with it. At Ravelrig, for example, in 1955, there were ‘a great many visitors and all the children who are old enough go out fairly regularly with Foster Aunties.’

Barnardo’s also encouraged assistance given by the Women’s Voluntary Service in providing extra help with fundraising activities and the like. Such involvement by members of the public straddled the divide between external and internal monitoring by providing another source of informal supervision that lessened the seclusion associated with children’s homes—particularly when they were sited in rural or remote areas. This type of initiative was viewed positively by the inspectorate; in instances where there was a failure to embrace it fully this might be remarked upon by inspectors:

The children have limited contact with local school children and the villagers seldom invite them to their homes. Foster aunts have been provided for children who have no contact with relatives but they are normally drawn from Tranent or Haddington.

A further source of external interest were local groups of ‘helpers’ who raised money through assisting with annual fetes and by organising other local fundraising events. The work of these ‘Leagues’ was encouraged and helped raise the public profile of Barnardo’s work in Scotland. At the home for children with physical disabilities near Wishaw, established in 1954-5, local involvement is often mentioned in reports:

173 Report of the Homes Committee, p. 15 [SGV.001.008.0155].
174 Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Scottish Representative for the second six months of 1955, dated February 1956, p. 3 [BAR.001.002.5555].
175 Barnardo Records: Circular dated April 1957 from the General Superintendent’s Office to all branch Superintendents. This circular encouraging staff to permit members of the WVS to become involved in work within homes and assist with escorting children on outings and appointments was supposed to be placed within the superintendent’s copy of the Barnardo Book [BAR.001.004.2257].

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This Home continues to receive a great deal of local support, and over £300 was raised on the Barnardo Open Day.\(^\text{177}\)

And in 1958:

> A great deal of interest is taken in the welfare of our handicapped children particularly in the West of Scotland, and we can never be grateful enough for the generous help which is constantly given. The addition of a lift to the house and extension of the School building are enormous improvements. A generous gift from the Glasgow Student Rag Committee; contributed largely to the cost of the School extension...The Home attracts a large number of visitors from far and wide, and the Scottish comedian, Jimmy Logan, has proved one of the most generous of friends. The visit of his Pantomime to Coltness House shortly after Christmas, and the children’s excursion to Glasgow, have been among the highlights, of an active year.\(^\text{178}\)

In the day to day business of the homes, it is not possible to discern from available records what the actual involvement of such well-wishers was—whether they were encouraged to make informal visits or befriend children. How or whether foster aunties were vetted is unknown.

**Frequency**

The frequency of external monitoring is unclear. Internal monitoring took place, but it is unclear how often, or whether this was always announced/unannounced. A weekly report by superintendents was required to be submitted to the Chief Executive, and this was forwarded to headquarters. No examples of these were provided to us by the Inquiry.

As we have noted from entries in the Balcary Visitors’ Book, representatives from the Scottish Home Department appeared to visit annually in the mid-1950s, though we lack any surviving examples of reports following these visits. Generally, this type of visitation in this period would have been pre-arranged. During the 1960s, some examples of inspection reports have been recovered but the frequency of such inspections cannot be determined from surviving records; from the evidence of surviving reports, such visits were pre-arranged.

\(^{177}\) Barnardo Records, Bi-annual Reports: Report of the Executive Officer for Scotland on the first six months of 1956, dated October 1956, p. 3 [BAR.001.002.5567].

Where internal inspection is concerned, visits by staff from Barnardo’s headquarters were likely annual and probably anticipated:

Dr. Smith paid her routine visit in the spring, and we were also glad to welcome Miss Simpson and Miss Tyan of the Barnardo Helpers’ League in March and May.

Mr. Lucette paid an all too hurried visit in January, in connection with Glasclune, and managed a visit also to Balcaray.

Up to the time of writing the following Council Members have spared time to visit the Homes:— Dr. Hislop, Mr. Moody, Lt. Gen. Sir Arthur Smith, Mr. MacAndrew and Miss Mline. These visits are always greatly appreciated by the Homes, and do much to strengthen the bond which unites Barnardo workers everywhere.\footnote{Barnardo Records: Report of the Scottish Representative on the first six months of 1952, dated 28 August 1952, p. 6 [BAR.001.002.5513].}

Visits by local authority officers were on a schedule; how far this was strictly adhered to is uncertain based upon evidence in available records. Travelling distance to some homes may have limited face-to-face contact.\footnote{See Abrams, L. and Fleming, L. (forthcoming) Report into the Historic System to Protect and Prevent Abuse of Children in Scotland 1948–1995, Edinburgh: Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry.} In one case file for a child placed at Balcaray during the early 1960s, no contact with the Edinburgh-based children’s officer concerned had been made for a considerable time described as ‘the whole of the time the girl was in our care’.\footnote{Case file for [reddacted] letter from Barnardo’s Assistant General Secretary to Mr Hewitson Brown (of, or formerly of, the Scottish Home Department though this letter appears to have been sent to his home address in Edinburgh), dated 31 January 1962; the child was admitted to Balcaray in [reddacted] 1955 [BAR.001.003.3609].} Indeed, this lapse in contact resulted in the Local Authority owing a considerable amount in back fees to Barnardo’s. The lack of contact seems only to have come to notice when the child was about to leave care and provision for her future had to be made by the local authority.

Criteria for inspections (e.g. stated criteria or templates for inspection and for judgements and recommendations)

We lack examples of inspection reports dating from the 1950s with which to judge what criteria were reviewed.

\footnote{Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry — Dr Barnardo’s Homes (Dr Barnardo’s/Barnardo’s Scotland): 1930s to 1990s}
In the 1960s, there is evidence that a critical approach was taken by Scottish Office Inspectors towards the nature of some residential care provided by Barnardo’s. For example, they were unhappy about the dual function of the home at Ravelrig as a residential nursery and training school for nursery nurses. It is implied that more care needed to be taken about the future of such young children so that they would not remain in residential care. This type of care facility also carried the risk that siblings would be separated if whole families were brought into care. In this particular case, the needs of the training school may also have compromised the needs of the children. A note of a meeting with Barnardo’s Chief Executive for Scotland following inspection in 1967 reveals that there were such anxieties and acknowledges that progress by the ‘welfare worker’ (see reference to this officer under external inspection) in securing a clearer idea about whether such children might return home were undermined. The work of this field worker employed by Barnardo’s is described:

Miss Hunter acts more as a co-ordinator and go-between for this Home, and others, with Child Care Officers. She performs a useful function. However, the anticipated visiting of children’s own home and parents has not developed as practically all the children are in care of local authorities and the Child Care Officers perform this duty. She has occasionally visited a family, but her main function is in convening case conferences about every six months. This is found useful but certain Child Care staff have limited time to attend.

Organisational responses to findings and recommendations from reviews

In the example cited above of Ravelrig Training Centre, the inspectorate concluded that:

Mrs. Trembath [Chief Executive for the Scottish region] is aware of the unsatisfactory child care aspects arising in this Home with its limited age range and use as a nursery training centre. The opportunity will arise to obviate these within the next three years. In the meantime efforts continue to mitigate against the worst aspects of its present function.

Ultimately, where a home ran into difficulties by not meeting contemporary ideas on the best methods of care, Barnardo’s either changed its function or closed the

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182 NRS ED11/690/2: Voluntary Homes, Inspectors’ Reports: Dr Barnardo’s Ravelrig, Balerno; note of a meeting with Mrs Trembath to follow up findings from inspections, dated 25 January 1968 [SGV.001.002.9788-9].
183 Ibid. [SGV.001.002.9788].
184 Ibid. [SGV.001.002.9788-9].
facility. In the case of Ravelrig, its function was changed in the early 1970s indicating that Barnardo's was responsive to such criticism. The entire facility closed in 1977.

Internal Monitoring

We do not know how often staff from the Edinburgh office visited individual homes or whether this was on a pre-arranged rota or unannounced. Visits by staff from Barnardo's headquarters were probably annual; this included a visit by Barnardo's medical officer. The latter was additional to local medical supervision required under statutory regulations.

**c.1970-1990**

External Inspection

Within this timeframe any formal external monitoring was more likely to be the responsibility of local authorities. In this period, and following the 1968 Social Work Act in Scotland, children's homes were registered by local authorities who had responsibility for visiting these and for visiting individual children placed there. Within Barnardo's homes, children might come from several different local authorities and how often social workers visited might depend on distances involved and the staff resources they had—in many authorities these were severely stretched.

Assistance from the Scottish Office was no longer based upon inspection; rather, it might be provided on request through the Central Advisory Service (CAS) of the Social Work Services Group (SWSG).

Barnardo's in Scotland anticipated that change was in the air in 1969 when it was commented in the annual report for that year that:

> Child Care, like all other developing services, seems to follow a pendulum-swing. In spite of the widely mooted, partially accepted, belief that "a poor home with natural parents is likely to be better than a good Children's Home with substitute parents", vast numbers of children from socially deprived families have been admitted to care, in order "to give them a better start in life". Whilst better cared for physically, many became more emotionally deprived in the process.

> On the return swing of the pendulum, forward-looking Social Workers have made monumental efforts to help socially deprived families to care more adequately for their children. This has often meant apparently more work, with less obvious improvement in the children's well-being.
The pendulum is on yet another swing. Many, but not all, deprived and distressed families, known to the current Social Work Services, are capable of using family case-work help to keep their children with them. The result of this is that most of the children coming into care now-a-days have specific care and treatment needs, and only secondary custodial ones. We are told continuously that it is the “quality of the caring that matters most.”

It seems clear from this the Chief Executive anticipated that changes might be expected of the kinds of services Barnardo’s could provide. By the end of the 1960s, Barnardo’s operated seven children’s homes (Balcary, Blackford Brae, Glasclune, Haldane House, Ravelrig, Tyneholm and Winton Drive in Glasgow) some of which had specialist services, such as Blackford Brae which catered for ‘maladjusted’ children, plus three dedicated units (Craigerne Residential School for boys, Coltness House—a residence and school for disabled children—and Cruachan Home for diabetic children). Another residential school for girls and boys was planned to open in Kilmarnock. Over the course of the following decade, many of these facilities would close, including Haldane House which had always been viewed as a problem establishment by Barnardo’s Scottish management because of its remote location. This would be replaced by the Tower home in Edinburgh which was also geared towards accepting children who had behavioural problems. Generally, however, by the end of this period Barnardo’s had stepped away from residential care for children.

Other than individual case files we have no records which address interaction with other agencies during the 1970s and 1980s, let alone monitoring. Within the small sample of case files reviewed, it is evident that regular case conferences were held involving local authority social workers; following the introduction of children’s panels, reports were produced for these, and the child’s progress within the care setting was reviewed by members of the panel. It is impossible to generalise about how well this system worked for all children placed with Barnardo’s.

**Frequency**

It is impossible to comment upon this matter as the records reviewed did not supply sufficient evidence. Contact by local authorities and individual social workers with children might be made in person within the care setting, but this cannot be taken

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185 Barnardo Records, Annual Reports: Annual Report for the Scottish Region - 1.4.68. to 31.3.69, Part I, p. 1 [BAR.001.002.5647]. We do not know the source of quotation within this text.
for granted and it is perfectly possible that this was seldom, particularly if children were placed by authorities at some distance.

A great deal of energy in the 1970s was concentrated on working with families so that children might return home. Children were encouraged to remain in frequent contact with their families, often returning home at weekends and for more protracted visits. They were thus often seen by local authority social workers within the family home rather than in care placements.

Communication with local authorities regarding the progress of a child was more the province of field workers than residential care workers. How often and what interaction took place between field workers employed by Barnardo's and residential staff is unknown. Evidence of this within a small sample of case files is too fragmentary to provide any kind of basis to establish how frequently field workers visited homes or how much time they spent in homes. As noted above, they do seem to have attended team meetings and so would be aware of what was generally happening in the care setting. However, we do not know, if, or what, the formal reporting mechanism was for discussions that took place at such meetings.

Criteria for inspections (e.g. stated criteria or templates for inspection and for judgements and recommendations)

Interaction with central government and local authorities ceased to be based on routine inspection by this period.

Organisational responses to findings and recommendations from reviews

We have no available evidence with which to answer this question.
Internal Monitoring

Barnardo's employed a small team of field workers based in Edinburgh who were assigned to individual establishments. During the 1970s we must assume that some form of internal monitoring of services was undertaken by Barnardo's management and field staff. We have no details about the membership of this team. In 1969, in addition to the regional executive/divisional director it was described as consisting of the following members:

During the past year, we have taken up our Child Care Officer vacancy by appointing Mrs. Mitchell, a recently trained, but earlier experienced, Psychiatric Social Worker. She is full-time Social Worker for the families of the boys at Craigerne, and, as such, her salary ranks for grant from the Scottish Education Department.

Miss Massey acts as the Social Worker for 5 of the 10 establishments, which includes work with the families of some of the children in our care, liaison with appropriate Child Care Officers for others, as well as participation in Staff meetings in 3 or 4 of her 5 Homes. As Deputy Regional Executive Officer she is involved in many ancillary activities, e.g. the organisation, along with two representatives from statutory bodies, and one from another voluntary agency, of In-Service Training for Edinburgh and South East Scotland.

MRS. FRASER, our After-Care Officer, is responsible for helping our School leavers. Our concentration on help for emotionally disturbed school children makes her task increasingly difficult. Sometimes she appears in Court with them, sometimes in Church with them.

Her husband, who is Youth and Community Services Officer for Edinburgh Education Authority, provides a permanent source of up-to-date information, and an influential link with Further Education and Apprenticeship facilities, as well as a father-figure for some of the insecure adolescents for whom Mrs. Fraser is responsible.

MISS HUNTER acts as Child Care Officer to the families of most of the children at Coltness House School, Cruachan (Diabetic Unit), and our Nursery at Ravelrig. She takes part in Staff meetings, and arranges conferences with Local Authority Child Care Officers, and staff of the Homes. Some of her best work has been
done in co-ordinating the transfer of children from Coltness to Cruachan which has been done sensitively and effectively. 186

It seems reasonable to suppose that the closure of services and the opening of new, non-residential would have had a significant impact on this type of staff structure, which consequently may well have changed considerably. However, we have not seen records that document any such changes.

The method of oversight from London is also unknown. We have not been provided with access to any records similar to the annual reports produced in the 1960s.

186 Ibid., Part III, p. 8 [BAR.001.002.5654].

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Question 4: Placement and Reviews for Children

Overview

In contrast with other providers Barnardo’s maintained a records system from the 1940s that provided a relatively full record of a child’s journey through the care system from admission to transition to independent living. From the 1940s and 1950s extensive information was recorded when children were admitted and from the 1940s through to the 1980s children’s physical and psychological progress and wellbeing was regularly assessed and recorded.

c.1940s-1950

Placements

Reasons for removing children from family were recorded in detail in case files. No specific reasons were given for placing a child with Barnardo’s or in a particular Barnardo’s home in this period. Placement requests were forthcoming from a wide variety of agencies and individuals though local authority Children’s Officers dominated.\(^{187}\)

The case files consulted contain relatively few cases relating to this period as Barnardo’s did not begin its operations in Scotland until the 1940s. However, those reviewed for children who were cared for in a Barnardo’s home in the 1940s and 1950s are often extensive, often 100 pages plus (much more expansive than case files for the other two providers), and generally containing detailed narratives and documentation relating to the reasons a child was removed from the family and taken into care including family background. Information that would explain why a child was placed with Barnardo’s in particular is not recorded as far as can be seen from the case file sample, and in some case files it is not clear why a child was placed in a Barnardo’s home in Scotland particularly, though one might infer that the placements during the war years were evacuation cases.\(^{188}\) The reviewed evidence suggests that it was the Barnardo’s Scottish office that made the recommendation of a particular home for a child to the London HQ.\(^{189}\) The reason for the choice of

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\(^{187}\) Barnardo’s Records: Report of the Executive Officer for Scotland 1957 [BAR.001.002.5580].

\(^{188}\) Barnardo’s Records – case files. See case of children placed in Stapleton towers from Bristol in 1941 [BAR.001.003.1030] and children placed in the same home from Hull [BAR.001.002.9676].

\(^{189}\) This is evident in the case of Riddell: case file Riddell 1940s-50s [BAR.001.003.1642].
Barnardo’s home is also not usually recorded though proximity to the family and availability of places may have been a consideration in some cases.\textsuperscript{190}

Reviews

Barnardo’s maintained full records of children’s journeys through the care system. Case files contain medical, education and other review/report-type records. Children’s progress and wellbeing was kept under review.

The documentation within children’s case files indicates fairly extensive record keeping by Barnardo’s for this period. Records were kept on medical history (visits to doctor, vaccinations, and so on), an annual report which comprises information, albeit brief, on the child’s character and temperament, appearance, behaviour, interests and progress at school and a general record of events affecting the child.\textsuperscript{191} These reports were written by the Superintendent of the home. The evidence indicates that children’s wellbeing was regularly under review or at least staff were recording salient details about a child following centrally determined (Barnardo’s HQ London) procedures.

Reasons for removal

The termination of a placement in this period was because a child was returned to parents, because a child was moved to another Barnardo’s home, or because a child reached school leaving age in which case transition/aftercare arrangements were put in place. In the case of return to parents, reasons are generally provided in the case file documentation. For example, one child placed in Glasclune Home in the 1940s, was ‘restored’ to her mother in 1957.\textsuperscript{192} This child had been taken into care in the 1940s with her brother and case file notes record that both could be considered for migration when the boy was old enough.\textsuperscript{193} However, the child had a history of epileptic fits. In 1956, it was recommended that she be transferred to the Bridge of

\textsuperscript{190} See case of children placed in Balcary in 1940s: evidence in case file of family connections in the area – a cousin at the local school [BAR.001.003.1653]. There were also two vacancies in this home at the time [BAR.001.003.1640]

\textsuperscript{191} A good example of a very full case file is that of a child placed in Balcary home in 1948 – children's records 1940s-50s [BAR 001.001.1628-1825]. Her file contains an application form with full details of family circumstances, annual reports, a general record which records maintenance payments, medical history and so on.

\textsuperscript{192} Barnardo’s records – children’s records [BAR.001.002.7691].

\textsuperscript{193} Ibid. [BAR.001.002.7681].

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Weir Epileptic Colony, but the local authority refused to accept financial responsibility for her special schooling, so she was returned home to her mother in Stonehaven in 1957.\textsuperscript{194} The local County Medical Officer of Health was provided with full details of the child's medical history.\textsuperscript{195} A Barnardo's officer made visits to the family in the months following her 'restoration'.\textsuperscript{196}

Transfers from one Barnardo's home to another were fairly frequent, but children's case files do not record reasons. For example, child A was transferred from Stapleton Towers to Tyneholm in 1948.\textsuperscript{197} Whilst the reasons for this transfer are not stated it may be that it took place because Stapleton Towers was originally an evacuation home and in this period many children were moved in order to facilitate the closure of these facilities.

Barnardo's made arrangements for children at school leaving age to find employment. These aftercare arrangements are discussed in Question 5 below. Child A, for instance, became an apprentice joiner in Hull (his home town) on leaving the care of the homes in 1958, transitioning via Barnardo's training school, Goldings, in Hertford.\textsuperscript{198} He was found lodgings with a landlady and Barnardo's maintained contact with him via the Boys After Care Department.\textsuperscript{199}

c.1950-1970

Placements

Case files contain extensive details of the reasons why a child was taken into care. Reasons for placing a child with Barnardo's are not often given. Justification for placing a child in a particular Barnardo's home are sometimes indicated.

In 1952 a breakdown of how children were referred to Barnardo's is included in the representative's bi-annual report:

- Mother - 14
- Father - 6
- Child Guidance - 3
- P.F.'s parents - 1

\textsuperscript{194} Ibid. [BAR.001.002.7684-5].
\textsuperscript{195} Ibid. [BAR.001.002. 7684-5].
\textsuperscript{196} Ibid. [BAR.001.002. 7684-5].
\textsuperscript{197} Barnardo's records – children's records [BAR.001.002.9676].
\textsuperscript{198} Ibid. [BAR.001.001.9684-6].
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid. [BAR.001.002.9693 and 9720].
Case files contain thorough details of a child’s family history on being taken into care. From the 1960s, the majority of children were referred to Barnardo’s from local authorities (1967-8: 127 of 134 children received) and thus local authority Children’s Officers and social workers were able to provide contextual information. These details are recorded in narrative form and note details of parents, their employment status, and so on, as well as any background salient information about the child in question. This is often enhanced with supporting documentation (e.g. letters from doctors and other professionals). In this period children being taken into care and placed with Barnardo’s come with a good deal of contextual information.

Only in some cases is there a clear reason given for a child to be placed with Barnardo’s in particular though it is clear that for some children it was thought that only Barnardo’s could provide the appropriate residential care. In the case of Craigerne School, clear reasons were provided for placement given its specialist nature as an institution for ‘maladjusted children’ and copious documentation was included in the child’s file.

202 A good example of a child who was taken into care in 1953 accompanied by much contextual information is child B (children’s records 1955-61) – see letters from clinical psychologist and Children’s Officer [BAR.001.003.3596-7 and 3599-3601].
203 Ibid. See case notes dated 11 Feb 1955 [BAR.001.003.3661].
204 See children’s records 1962-65 – letter from Dept of Psychological Medicine, Royal Hospital for Sick Children, Edinburgh 6 Feb 1962 [BAR.001.002.5732]. This child was admitted to Craigerne 1962 on account of a psychological assessment that the child required residential treatment in a school for maladjusted children.

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Reviews

Case files indicate children’s progress and wellbeing was regularly reviewed and recorded. Annual reports are present within case files and contain recommendations for future care.

Case files contain detailed material recording the child’s progress in all areas—health, schooling, temperament, contact and so on. Case files contain regular annual reports that record health, schooling, contact with family, friends, and general comments on temperament and character. Reviews were conducted by the Home Superintendent and another staff member of the home plus Barnardo’s staff, presumably from the Barnardo’s Scottish office (though this is not clear from the details provided on the review form). Reviews also contain recommendations for children’s future care (e.g. removal to parents or to foster care). Some case files also contain in the ‘child’s record’, a review of the ‘Placement Decision’ and a recommendation as to whether a child is removed or remains.

Reasons for removal

Reasons for restoration to family were recorded in case files. Removal in the case of children reaching school leaving age was overseen by the aftercare team. In this period termination of a placement was because a child was returned to parents, they were removed to another Barnardo’s home, or because they reached school leaving age and were transferred to alternative accommodation such as a hostel or lodgings and overseen by the aftercare department. In the case of children returned to parents the reasons are recorded. Generally the parents’ circumstances have improved (rehousing, employment found, and so on) and in the case of children under local authority care, there would have been liaison between the local authority Children’s Officer and Barnardo’s before a child was ‘restored’.

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205 See children’s records 1960s: review form 18 March 1969 [BAR.001.003.1164].
206 Ibid. This child was taken into Barnardo’s as baby in 1962; foster care mooted 1968. This child was eventually found a foster home [BAR.001.003.1173 and 1181 and 1184].
207 See children’s records (Balcary): Child’s record 1.2.55 [BAR.001.003.3656].
208 See children’s records—children admitted to Tynholme when mother walked out and returned to family home when she returned [BAR.001.002.1347].
c.1970s-1990s

Placements

Very full details of a child's background are recorded in the child's case file. Supporting documentation to provide contextual information is often present. Justifications for placing a child with Barnardo's are not always provided. Case files contain extensive details of a child's family history on being taken into care. These details are recorded in narrative form as well as recording the details of parents, their employment status and so on, as well as any background salient information about the child in question. This is often enhanced with supporting documentation (e.g. letters from doctors and other professionals). In this period, as in the 1960s, children being taken into care and placed with Barnardo's come with a good deal of contextual information. Only in some cases is there clear reason given for a child to be placed with Barnardo's and there is little indication for the reasons children were placed in particular homes (though geographical proximity to family, availability of places, and specialist provision likely all played a part). In some cases, local authority social workers believed that only Barnardo's could provide appropriate residential care (for example, in the case of residential schooling). In a few cases children were transferred from other care providers, be that foster care or another residential care home.

Reviews

Case files contain extensive detailed records on a child's progress and wellbeing. Annual reviews were undertaken. Daily logs of activity are sometimes present in the case file. Social workers’ notes of meetings with children were kept on the file. Case files for this period are often voluminous and well organised. They contain separate sections for medical records (detailing all vaccinations, visits to the doctor, dentist, optician, accidents and so on), education (including school grades), finance, correspondence and reports. The latter section contains extensive reports and reviews on children's progress written by home supervisors and other care and medical professionals including social workers. These include annual reports and sometimes daily logs of activity. Annual reviews are quite extensive and pay attention to children's progress in educational terms as well as their social adjustment. Reviews also considered future plans for children and put in place plans to enable children to
make the adjustment to 'survival in the outside world.' Each annual review in the 1970s contains plans made for the child at the previous review meeting, points for discussion, and decisions made at this review meeting to be actioned. Case files also contain records of children's contact with professional support, such as educational psychologists and medical report forms that record both regular check-ups and any more serious incidents. Social worker reports are full, detailed, and incisive and identify the various interventions made in children's lives.

Reasons for removal

Children were either restored to the families when their circumstances improved, and this was recorded as outlined in previous section, were transferred to other homes within the Barnardo's family or they transitioned to training or employment.

In this period responsibility for the planning for transition to independent living was largely undertaken by social workers in the local authority.

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209 For a very good example of this see Barnardo's records – children's records 1977-82 (Annual Review 1.9.81) where decisions were made to 'structure a behaviour programme which would help [child] find an identity...' with the support of a psychologist. This review was informed by a report from his social worker [BAR.001.002.2276-8].

210 See children's records 1976-81, certification of accident 22.4.81 – records child swallowing large doses of paracetamol [BAR.001.002.0311].

211 Ibid., family social worker reports on child's family circumstances, mention of family sessions: 8.9.78 [BAR.001.002.0324].
Question 5: After Care

Overview

In contrast with the other two providers in this study, Barnardo's always operated a formal aftercare service that had a number of dimensions concerning the support of young people as they transitioned to independent living as outlined in The Barnardo Book (1955). The Barnardo’s Guild operated to maintain contact with former boys and girls but by the 1960s, after care was more formalised and an integral part of the organisation providing ongoing support when children left formal care. In 1963, the Report of the Regional Executive Officer commented under ‘Aftercare’: ‘When the older boys and girls leave our homes there is never any question of them leaving our care.’

However, whilst it is clear that Barnardo’s operated an aftercare service throughout the period of operation in Scotland, as frequently referred to in the organisation’s documentation, the precise nature of this in terms of structures, mechanisms, and staffing is very difficult to piece together from the materials available to us. This also means that it is difficult to know precisely how aftercare provision operated in practice. Case files indicate that children were supported in transitioning to life after being in care in many ways across the period in question, but as Barnardo’s increasingly took in children with complex needs, after care became a more challenging service to deliver.

Barnardo’s did seek to maintain contact with former boys and girls via the Barnardo’s Guild and the associated newsletter and a number of other formal and informal mechanisms. The Barnardo Book required that every leaving child should experience a formal farewell from the organisation and laid out a number of aftercare measures designed to aid the child’s transition (from advice on saving money to support in making contact with a local church), but available evidence does not indicate if this occurred in all cases or if it was effective. Evidence reviewed indicates that leaving children were bought a new outfit.

212 Report of the Regional Executive Officer, 1963, emphasis in the original [BAR.001.002.5618].
It is evident that those who had been cared for by Barnardo's were able to contact the organisation via its Scottish office or their former home and its superintendent, that correspondence was replied to and visits encouraged. In more recent years after care has come to incorporate the service provided by Barnardo's to inquiries from former girls and boys regarding access to their records and regarding allegations of abuse. The records provided to the Inquiry from Barnardo's in this respect have not been analysed for this section of the report.

**c.1940-1950**

The following is based on evidence from a very small number of children's case files for this period.

**Arrangements and Procedures for Transitions to Leaving Care**

We had limited information available to answer this question. After care was managed by a designated aftercare department. In this period Barnardo's operated aftercare departments for boys and girls and a situations department that managed children's transition from education to work.

The Annual Reports of the Scottish operation featured a section on after care from 1948 that might be interpreted as ongoing contact with former girls and boys. Marriages were recorded and celebrated, and destinations of former Barnardo's children were noted. In 1948, concern was noted regarding children who would not be able to live independently in hostels or lodgings and who would require supported living provided by 'the Council'.

**Accommodation, Employment and Education Provision**

Training establishments were an integral part of Barnardo's organisation to manage the transition between care and work. The small number of case files for this period means that information is very limited on how Barnardo's supported children into training and work. The case files are not always clear about how after care was arranged in individual cases.

Barnardo's operated a technical training establishment, Goldings, in Hertford, England and a number of children from Scottish homes were transferred there to

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215 Report of the Scottish Representative, July 1948 [BAR.001.002.5479].
learn a trade as a stepping-stone to an apprenticeship. One child who had been placed at Stapleton during the war enlisted as soon as he was able in the RAF in 1949.

**Ongoing Contact**

Contact was maintained via the Barnardo’s Guild, and ongoing contact was encouraged and correspondence replied to. The Barnardo’s Guild was a membership organisation (by subscription) for former boys and girls. It produced the Guild Messenger magazine that was sent to all members from 1914. Its purpose was to maintain links between former Barnardo’s children and the organisation. Guild members received a lapel badge.

Former boys and girls did keep in touch by writing, and sometimes visiting their former Homes. Barnardo’s encouraged former children to maintain contact with the organisation either in person or by correspondence. Children did often maintain contact with the superintendents of their former homes. When ‘old boys and girls’ married they were sent a gift and the marriage was often mentioned in the Guild newsletter.

**c.1950-70**

Standard Guidance regarding preparation for leaving care was laid out in the *Barnardo Book* (1955) which functioned as a staff guide or handbook. This laid down principles and procedures relating to vocational guidance and training before the child reached school leaving age and principles and guidance concerning placing in situations and after care.

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216 See children’s records 1940s-50s in which a child resident was transferred from Stapeleton to Goldings, where he undertook joinery training and was then apprenticed to a joiner in Hull. Barnardo’s arranged his lodgings and continued to visit him to observe his progress, per the extensive correspondence regarding his apprenticeship [BAR.001.002.9686 and 9694-9741].

217 The functions of the Guild are outlined in a document contained in children’s record [BAR.001.002.2286].

218 See for example children’s records 1940-45: letter dated 12 July 1966 [BAR.001.002.0717].

219 See for example children’s records 1940-45 [BAR.001.002.0745].

220 *The Barnardo Book* (1955) chapters XI and XII [BAR.001.004.1052-9].

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Arrangements and Procedures for Transitions to Leaving Care

Transition management procedure was laid out in the *Barnardo Book*. Barnardo’s Scotland employed designated Welfare Officers. Evidence for how transition was managed in practice for individual children is not always clear from available materials.

As laid out in the *Barnardo Book*, a child’s transition to leaving care in the period was to be managed by the aftercare department with the input of a number of people who had contact with the child: headmaster, Home Superintendent, and Youth Employment Officer. Barnardo’s employed two Welfare Officers in Scotland who worked with the homes in placing children about to be discharged as per the guidance in the *Barnardo Book*. The Welfare Officers were responsible for finding situations for leavers as well as arranging accommodation.\(^{221}\) In the 1968-9 Annual Report for Scotland it is recorded that Barnardo’s employed an aftercare officer at its central office in Edinburgh (Mrs Fraser) who was ‘responsible for helping our school leavers’.\(^{222}\) It was also noted that she had a very difficult job owing to the organisation’s ‘concentration on help for emotionally disturbed schoolchildren’.\(^{223}\) It was also noted that Mrs Fraser’s husband who was Youth and Community Services Officer for Edinburgh Education Authority was a valuable contact providing a link with Further Education and apprenticeship facilities.\(^{224}\) Barnardo’s ran a number of training establishments to provide mainly practical training to smooth the transition between care and employment. Goldings, a training school in England operated by Barnardo’s, was used regularly for boys.\(^{225}\) Branch homes were also used to train children in the ‘Barnardo Housecraft Course’ (though we have not seen evidence of this in the sample case files). For boys, the Parkstone Sea Training School provided training for the merchant marine and the navy.\(^{226}\) Other forms of training were offered: printing at the Barnardo Printing shop at the William Baker Technical School, and office training for girls.\(^{227}\) Again the sample files do not provide concrete evidence of these being used for children in Scottish homes. By the

\(^{221}\) Ibid., p. 72 [BAR.001.004.1056].
\(^{222}\) Barnardo’s records: Annual Report for the Scottish Region 1968-9 [BAR.001.002.5654].
\(^{223}\) Ibid. [BAR.001.002.5654].
\(^{224}\) Ibid. [BAR.001.002.5654].
\(^{225}\) Barnardo’s records: Report of the Scottish Representative, 1953 notes two boys due to attend Goldings [BAR.001.002.5517].
\(^{226}\) *The Barnardo Book* (1955), p. 69 [BAR.001.004.1053].
\(^{227}\) Ibid., p. 70 [BAR.001.004.1054].
early 1960s, Barnardo’s was placing children as they left the homes to transition into further training or work in hostels in Glasgow and Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{228}

Evidence for how the transition was managed in practice is not easy to discern from the case files. These do record a child’s destination, but rarely the process by which they got there. Individual Home logbooks for 1958 to the early 1960s record the movements of children, but with limited information. The Glasclune logbook states ‘to Aftercare’, presumably indicating a child had left the home for training or work and the Balcary logbook provides a brief description of the child’s destination, for example ‘Situation’.\textsuperscript{229}

Welfare officers did maintain contact with children leaving care and reported back on their progress.

**Accommodation, Employment and Education Provision**

Leavers were assisted with accommodation (hostels, lodgings), and welfare officers found leavers training positions or employment and offered ongoing contact and support for a period. There was no evidence of any leavers in Higher Education.

Annual Reports record in summary the destinations of children leaving care which include factory work (in the vicinity of the homes located in the Borders), nursery nursing, gardening, mothers’ help, and so on.\textsuperscript{230} In the 1961 Annual Report it was noted that ‘boys and girls are not encouraged to work in Glasgow in view of the danger to young people living and working in the city.’\textsuperscript{231} The aftercare officer and welfare officers presumably were instrumental in supporting leavers’ transitions into training or employment but case files are not always explicit about how this happened.

As noted above, leavers who were transitioning to work via some form of training were often accommodated in hostels. Those in work, but still receiving the support of the aftercare department, were found lodgings that were checked out for their suitability. This process can by evidenced by the support provided to a girl who left Balcary home in 1961. Correspondence between the Edinburgh Children’s Officer and

\textsuperscript{228} Barnardo’s records: Annual Report Scottish Region, 1964 [BAR.001.002.5629].
\textsuperscript{229} Barnardo’s records: Balcary Logbook 1958-63: entries for 12 August and 6 September 1958 [BAR.001.002.5374].
\textsuperscript{230} Barnardo’s records: Report of the Scottish Representative, 1953 [BAR.001.002.5517].
\textsuperscript{231} Barnardo’s records: Report of the CEO Scotland, 1961 [BAR.001.002.5600].

\textsuperscript{82} Scottish Child Abuse Inquiry – Dr Barnardo’s Homes (Dr Barnardo’s/Barnardo’s Scotland): 1930s to 1990s
Barnardo's indicates that a new hostel recently established in Edinburgh for adolescent girls was considered a suitable place for this girl, giving her 'the sort of supervision she will require as she adjusts to leaving Balcary and beginning work.'\(^{232}\) Subsequent correspondence indicates that she moved to the hostel in December 1961 and started work at a hosiery factory. In August 1962 a letter from Miss O'Brien, Superintendent of Balcary, to Miss Garland intimates that this girl had 'got into trouble', the girl had not been in direct contact with Miss O'Brien, and that Miss O'Brien was certain that this behaviour was a 'complete reaction to the way [the girl] behaved here'.\(^{233}\) In this case then, after care supported this girl's move from the home to a hostel and presumably found her a job but it was unable to prevent a teenage girl 'getting into trouble'.

Amongst the case files samples there has been no instance of a Barnardo's child leaving care to undertake Higher Education. This does not mean that this did not happen but as Barnardo's increasingly accepted children with complex needs this became an increasingly unlikely destination.

Ongoing Contact

Barnardo's Guild continued to operate as communication medium and subscription encouraged, and individual superintendents of homes were key points of continuing contact. As noted above, the Barnardo's Guild operated to offer former boys and girls a point of contact. The 1963 Report of the Regional Executive Officer for Scotland noted:

> When the older boys and girls leave our Homes there is never any question of their leaving our care, and they know this. Numbers of them are regular visitors to Drumsheugh Gardens and no time or trouble is spared in seeking good lodgings, good jobs or even just listening to their grumbles or minor triumphs.\(^{234}\)

Two years later the SED's Inspection Report commented on the good after care provided by Miss O'Brien, the Superintendent of Balcary home, who retained

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\(^{232}\) Barnardo's records: children's records 1955-61 - letter from Edinburgh Children's Officer to Miss Garland, Barnardo's, 27 Nov 1961 [BAR.001.003.3606].

\(^{233}\) Ibid., letter from Miss O'Brien to Miss Garland 18 Aug 1962 [BAR.001.003.3612-3].

\(^{234}\) Barnardo's records: Report of the Regional Executive Officer Scotland, 1963 [BAR.001.002.5618]
personal contact with those formerly in her care. Case files indicate that children often maintained some contact with Barnardo's either formally (requesting information, consent to marriage and so on) or more informally as members of a family would keep in touch.

From the 1960s on local authorities had responsibility for planning for independence but they worked alongside Barnardo's staff to practically support a young person's transition from care.

**c.1970-90**

**Arrangements and Procedures for Transitions to Leaving Care**

In this period responsibility for all aspects of a child's transition to leaving care was largely in the hands of the local authority, though Barnardo's continued to make provision for transitional arrangements—for example, by providing accommodation. In the case of a girl who left Glasclune in 1977, a plan for her to leave the home and to live with a maternal aunt before moving to live with her mother fell apart when her mother died. Thereafter this girl was given tenancy of a Barnardo's supported flat 'as part of our After Care Service', but had to be asked to leave in 1982 owing to 'delinquency of boyfriends'.

**Accommodation, Employment and Education Provision**

The aftercare service continued to support young people as they transitioned from care to independent living through provision of a number of different options: one of the homes had a flat for school leavers within the home (Tyneholm); young people were supported by the Young People's Unit (also Tyneholm); and mention is made of the 61A aftercare group, although no more information has been discovered within the records on this group. In the case of a boy it was noted in his file that there

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235 NRS ED11/716/2: SED Inspection report Balcary home, 1965. 'There is good aftercare at this home. Miss O'Brien has retained personal contact with her former charges, and those who live in Hawick visit her regularly.' [SGV.001.002.9928]


237 Evidence for this is in Barnardo's records: children's records 1977-82 [BAR.001.002.2268 and 2271].

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would be a review ‘to consider his moving on from Tyneholm’ and that he had applied for a place on a catering course.\(^{238}\)

**Ongoing Contact**

The organisation had an aftercare department which responded promptly and fully to correspondence from former boys and girls.\(^ {239}\) There is evidence of Scottish reunions taking place in this period.\(^ {240}\) An aftercare group for young people leaving Tyneholm and Glasclune was set up in the 1970s. This was a group facilitated by social workers presumably to provide recent leavers with a support system.\(^ {241}\)

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\(^{238}\) Ibid. [BAR.001.002.2271]

\(^{239}\) See Barnardo’s records: children’s records 1950s-60s: the extensive correspondence with this former resident in 1970s and 1980s especially following death of former Balcary manager Ms O’Brien and in relation to wanting to find out more about her family in the 1970s after she had left the home [BAR.001.002.8121-30].

\(^{240}\) Ibid., memo apologising for not attending the Scottish reunion in 1979 [BAR.001.002.8119].

\(^{241}\) Evidence for this group exists in children’s records 1978 [BAR.001.002.0036].